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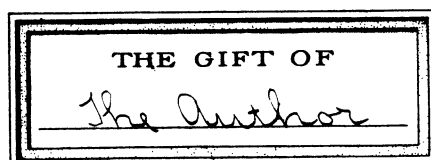
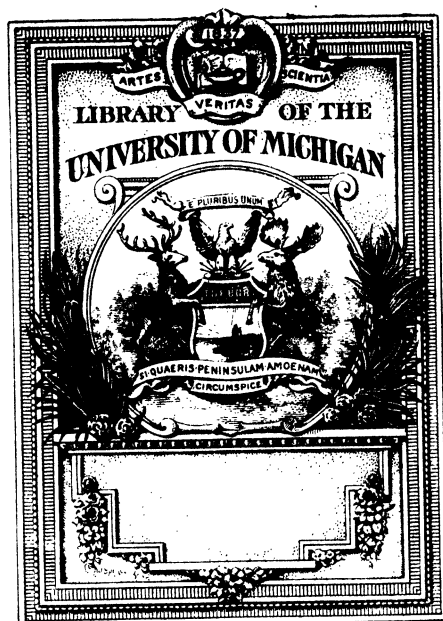
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CHARLES PHILIP WAGNER

THE SOURCES
OF
EL CAVALLERO CIFAR

Extrait de la *Revue Hispanique*, tome X.

PARIS

1903

TO MY MOTHER

130449

THE SOURCES OF *EL CAVALLERO CIFAR*

I

INTRODUCTORY ¹

The indifference with which the *Historia del Cavallero Cifar* has been treated since the discovery of the extremely rare edition of 1512, is doubtless traceable to the disparaging notices given of it by two eminent authorities. After Brunet's description of the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris ², in which

1. This article, which is an attempt to classify some of the notes brought together by the writer while working on a new critical edition of the Cifar, was presented in June 1902, in slightly different form, to the faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University (New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. A.), as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

My thanks for valuable help and suggestions are due to Professor Henry R. Lang of Yale University, to Professor Todd of Columbia University, and to Sr. D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal of Madrid.

2. *Manuel du Libraire*. Graesse (*Trésor de livres...*) and Escudero (*Tipografía Hispalense*, Madrid 1894) cite Brunet, as does Gallardo (*Ensayo de una biblioteca...*). The Cifar is not mentioned by Salvá or Nicolás Antonio.

The copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale is the only one I have seen, and indeed, the only one I have seen described. It was bought for 250 francs at the sale of the Cardinal Loménie in 1792. It now bears the library number *Inv. Rés.* Y² 259. It is a thin folio (283 × 203 mm.) of 100 leaves, in a green morocco gold-tooled binding of the 18th century. The back bears vertically the inscription *Historia del Cavall Tifar* (sic) *Sevilla Cronberger 1512*.

the work is referred to as a *roman mystique*, we first find mention of the Cifar in Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*. We read : ¹

Of those (romances of chivalry) originally Spanish, it would not be difficult, after setting aside the two series belonging to the families of Amadis and Palmerin, to collect the names of about forty, all produced in the course of the sixteenth century. Some of them are still more or less familiar to us, by their names at least, such as « Belianis of Greece » and « Olivante de Laura », which are found in Don Quixote's library, and « Felixmarte of Hircania », which was once, we are told, the summer reading of Dr. Johnson. But in general, like « The Renowned Knight Cifar », and « The Bold Knight

Leaves are numbered on the recto in Roman numerals ; incorrectly, folios 13, 14, 15, 16, 81, 82, 83, and 91. On folio 1 rº there is a large woodcut (172 × 139 mm.), representing the Knight Cifar on horseback, preceded by his two sons, and followed by the Ribaldo. Each figure is surmounted by a placard with the name. Gallardo's statement that this woodcut is the same as that on the title-page of the *Amadis* of 1519, is not quite accurate. The measurement is the same, and the position of the figures as well ; but an examination of the details shows that one cut is an ingenious modification of the other. Under the cut is the title, beginning, *Coronica d'l muy esforçado y esclarescido cauallero Cifar nueua mente impressa*, etc. On the vuelto of f. 1, are a prologue, and a more extended title (see Appendix A.). Beginning with the recto of f. 2, the pages are of two columns each. The work is divided into three parts or books, the first of which, beginning on f. 2, treats the adventures of Cifar. The second book, beginning fol. 48 rº, consists of advice given by Cifar, who has become King of Menton, to his two sons Garfin and Roboan. The third book contains the adventures of Roboan, the younger son of the Knight, and begins on fol. 71 v. On fol. 99 v., is a table of contents, and on fol. 100 v., second column near the bottom, is the colophon :

Fue impressa esta // presente historia del cauallero Cifar // en la muy noble e muy leal Cibdad // de Seuilla por Jacobo cronberger. // alemã. E acabosse a. IX. dias d'l mes // de Junio año de mill. d. e. XII años.

The character is Spanish Gothic, and the words are very close together. Punctuation consists of period, colon, and inverted semi-colon.

1. George Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, London 1849, vol. I, p. 219. The translators of Ticknor have not modified this judgement. A. de los Rios (*Historia critica de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1861-1865, 7 vols.) does not mention the Cifar.

Claribalte », their very titles sound strangely to our ears, and excite no interest when we hear them repeated. Most of them, it may be added — perhaps all — deserve the oblivion into which they have fallen : though some have merits which, in the days of their popularity, placed them near the best of those already noticed.

Gayangos is not much more encouraging. Speaking of the *Claribalte* he says : ¹

It is more to be recommended for the jauntiness of its style than for its plot, which is poor and trivial. We can say little more for the *Cronica del Caballero Cifar*, printed in 1512, and in which we can perceive the moral element that later played such an important part in the confection of this class of book.

There is nothing here to stimulate to a closer examination of the book. It is probable that both Ticknor and Gayangos, assuming that the *Cifar* was one of the imitations of the *Amadis*, gave it a hasty and inadequate reading, and its importance was not suspected until the beautiful manuscript of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* ² was brought to light. Later Michelant, in his edi-

1. *Libros de Caballerias*, ed. D. Pascual de Gayangos, Madrid 1857, p. XLVII.

2. The ms. in question bears the number *Esp.* 36 in the *Nationale* (see the *Catalogue des Manuscrits espagnols de la Bib. Nat.*, par A. Morel-Fatio, n° 615). It is a large folio (415 × 272 mm.) in a mottled brown calf binding of the first Empire. The back is of red leather, with the title *Roman de Cifar*.

The ms. consists of 192 fols., the first of parchment, the rest of a good quality of laid paper with various watermarks. On some sheets the watermark is the same as in the Madrid ms. of the *Cifar* (below). The writing is in two columns of from 30 to 45 lines each, and occupies a space 295 × 195 mm. Folios are numbered in pencil in upper right corner of recto, and incorrectly in ink, in the hand of the copyist, in lower corner. There are a few slight worm holes in the last leaves. In addition to having many large initial letters of two colors, the ms. is luxuriously illuminated with 242 extremely interesting miniatures of varying degrees of excellence. At the top of the first folio is a miniature much more finished than the rest, of the Pope and two Cardinals, and a kneeling clerk. Under this is the shield of Castile and Leon. On folios 99 v. to 141 v., there are 48 miniatures of the King of Menton and his two sons, all different. The text is divided into 220 chapters, all of which have rubricated

tion, ¹ made for the Literarische Verein of Stuttgart, pointed out some of the sources of the text, and showed the date of its composition to be the first part of the fourteenth century.

headings, with the exception of the first long chapter (corresponding to the prologue and first five chapters of Michelant's edition). Chapter headings are unnumbered. There is no regular punctuation. The writing is of the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries. The supposition that the chapter headings and the first folio were added by a later and a different hand, is borne out by the difference between the orthography of these portions and that of the text proper. We notice,

z	for	s
cavallero	»	cauallero,
y	»	E
exiemplo	»	exienplo,
predicador	»	pedricador etc.

Another ms. of the Cifar, which is apparently the only other one known, was formerly in the possession of the Duke of Osuna (see Rocamora, *Catálogo abreviado de los Manuscritos de la Biblioteca del Excmo. Sr. Duque de Osuna é Infantado*, Madrid 1882, n^o 140). It is now in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, and bears the number *Ii* 87.

It is written on vertically laid paper of poor quality, and has recently been put into a new binding of « piel estopada ». There are 195 folios, numbered in pencil in arabic numerals in upper right corner of recto, from 2 to 195 incl. Dimensions 292 × 215 mm. Space occupied by writing, 190 × 142 mm. in two columns of from 26 to 29 lines. The first 133 folios are numbered incorrectly in the hand of the copyist. This ms. originally consisted of more folios. There are missing, fol. 1, one folio between folios 135 and 136, four between 176 and 177, and four between 186 and 187. So there were originally 204 folios. The ms. is divided into 34 chapters with rubricated headings, excepting the first (fol. 5 v.) which has a large initial only. Rubrics, as well as some notes in the margin, are by the copyist. There is no punctuation, but, as in the Paris ms. the sign **C** is frequent. The vuelto of some of the folios, at the bottom, has the first word of the next fol. There are frequent corrections in the hand of the copyist, and by a later hand, — the latter purely fantastic. On the last fol. v., we read at the end: — *domingo veynte e quatro dias de octubre de mill.....* The letter is of the first half of the 15th century, very poor and variable, but by the same hand throughout.

For a discussion of the relation of the three texts of the Cifar (i. e., the two mss. and the edition of 1512) see Appendix A.

1. Vol. 112 of the collection. *Historia del Cavallero Cifar*, hrsgb. von Dr.

The indebtedness of the *Cifar* to the *Flores de Filosofia* became known through the publication of that text in 1878¹: and finally, Baist has suggested other relations, and has assigned the *Cifar* to its proper place, qualifying it as *die älteste selbständige kastilische Fiktion*².

Our text can be dated approximately from events mentioned in the prologue³. The author, « because men cannot remember things of the past unless they find them in writing », has recorded in his prologue two circumstances worth remembering.

He mentions the pardon granted by Pope Boniface VIII in the year 1300, to all who should visit the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome, and he records in detail the translation from Rome to Toledo, of the body of the first Toledan Cardinal, Don Gonzalo. In his own words :

The translator of the story that you shall hear, which was translated from Chaldean into Latin, and from Latin into Romance, set down and ordered the aforesaid events, that those who shall come after this time, that is in the year of Jubilee (1300), may go to gain the blessed pardons that shall be granted to all who go there and that they may know that this was the first Cardinal buried in Spain.

The Cardinal in question is Gonzalo Garcia Gudiel, who died

Heinrich Michelant, Tübingen 1872. The Madrid ms. was unknown to Michelant, whose original intention was, he tells us (p. 362) to edit the print; but he was later induced to collate the Paris ms. Unfortunately, his use of the two texts is quite arbitrary and he has given no variants.

1. Ed. by H. Knust, in *Dos obras didácticas y dos leyendas*, Madrid 1878 (vol. XVII. of the *Sociedad de Bibliófilos españoles*). The editions of this society are limited to 300 copies, and as most of the subscribers are Spaniards, the volumes are not easy of access to foreigners.

2. In his article on Spanish literature in Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, vol. II, pp. 416 and 439., Strassburg 1898. I wish to state here, once for all, my indebtedness to Baist's article.

3. The full text of this prologue is given in Appendix A.

in Rome July 4, 1299¹. The translation of his body took place, according to the prologue, in the reign of Ferdinand IV, and the body was met on its return, by the Archbishop of Toledo, Don Gonzalo, nephew of the Cardinal (Gonzalo Diaz Palomeque, died 1310), by Don Pedro, Archbishop of Burgos (Pedro Rodriguez Quinades, d. 1313), and by the Archbishop of Calahorra Don Fernando (Fernando Gonzalez, who finished his career before 1305). From the consensus of these dates, we must place the date of the translation of the body before 1305. The prologue does not say which Pope gave the permission for the removal of the Cardinal's body; but as Boniface is the only Pope mentioned, it is to be supposed it was he. This brings the date down to 1303, in which year Boniface died.

I have found no record of the removal, but we find in the minds of the church historians a doubt as to the burial place of the Cardinal. The Cifar's statement that the Cardinal wanted to be buried in Toledo, « where he had chosen a sepulchre », is borne out by the following statement in ms. n° 1529 of the National Library of Madrid.

F. 70 v. En la constitucion 30 de la yglesia de Toledo, dize que el Arçobispo Don Gonçalo, que despues fue Cardenal. instituyo quatro capellanias, y mando que el capellan salga sobre su sepultura. Son estas 4 de las 34 que llaman del choro. Y assi pareçe falso lo de Onuphrio que esta enterrado en Roma.

In the same volume we have a description of the sepulchre of the Cardinal in Rome, which agrees closely with that in the Cifar; but the author goes on to say.

F. 65 v. que Don Gonçalo Cardenal esta dentro del coro de Toledo sepultado delante de Sancta Maria la Blanca, se dize en una dotacion que haze a Don Vasco Arçobispo, su sobrino Don Suero, Arçobispo de Sanctiago, era 1403. Y Don Blas o Vasco, en su testamento en Coimbra, era 1399, dize — *elegimus sepulturam in choro ecclesiae Toletanae prope sepulturam dni Gundisalui.*

1. See Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, Ratisbonae 1873.

The prologue of the *Cifar* thus becomes a document confirming the suspicions of the historian. We cannot say how soon after the event the composition of the *Cifar* took place; but evidently while the details were fresh in the author's mind ¹.

About the author of the *Cifar* we know nothing definite. His familiarity with the literature of his time, shows him to have had such an education as, in his days, fell to the lot of few beside the clergy. From this fact, and from the detailed description of the procession at Toledo, it is perhaps not too much to assume, with Michelant, that he was a clerk connected with the church in that city.

We must not take seriously the statement that the *Cifar* is a translation from the Chaldean ². We shall see in the course of this study that our text is made up of many and diverse elements; but that those which may have come originally from the East, had already passed through Western hands.

II

THE LEGEND OF PLACIDUS AND PART FIRST OF THE CIFAR

Anterior to the composition of the *Cifar*, there was no Castilian prose fiction, properly so-called ³. The stories that illustrate the moral teaching of such works as the *Libro de Calila é Dymna*⁴,

1. The author does not know of the semi-annual Jubilee, which first came in 1350 (Baist, *op. cit.*, p. 440 note 1). His description of the Bull of Boniface VIII is correct in general, though the Bull contains no mention of a special arrangement for theft and debt. (*Bullarum Dipl. et Priv.*.... Augustae Taurinorum 1859, IV, p. 156).

2. Michelant thinks that by Chaldean we are to understand Greek.

3. Baist says (*op. cit.*, p. 438) « Das Verständniss für die Existenz der Fiction gewinnt er (Der Spanier) erst im 14. Jh. durch die Bekanntschaft mit der *matière de Bretagne* ».

4. Ed. D. Pascual de Gayangos, in vol. LI of the *Bib. de Autores esp.*, pp. 1 to 84 (*Escritores en prosa anteriores al siglo XV*, Madrid, 1860).

and the *Libro de Castigos é Documentos* ¹, are of oriental origin, or the common intellectual property of all Europe. The *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* ² has been proved by M. Gaston Paris to be a compilation of several Old French and Provençal poems, while the legends of the Escorial-codex from which Rios ³ edited the *Cuento del Emperador Carlos Maynes*, and the *Fermoso Cuento de Otas*, which at the most, antedate the Cifar by only a few years ⁴, have been shown to be translations of French and Latin originals. The rest of the Spanish prose of the 13th century is professedly didactic ⁵.

So it is not to be wondered at, that the writers who knew the Cifar by name only, or at best through a hasty perusal, should have considered it one of the imitations of the Amadis, rather than its predecessor by a generation. Nor is it a matter for surprise, that the author of the Cifar himself, writing at a time when the whole trend of thought was didactic, has interrupted his narrative by frequent moralizing, and has even gone so far as to transcribe nearly the whole of one of the most popular moral treatises of his time. A pioneer in a new field, feeling his way toward a new literary genre, his product stands midway between that form of literary expression of which the *Conde Lucanor* ⁶ is the type, and the full-fledged Romance of Chivalry.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-228.

2. Ed. Gayangos in vol. XLIV of *Biblioteca*, etc., Madrid, 1877. See the article of G. Paris in *Romania*, XVI, pp. 512-541; XIX, pp. 562 ff.; and XXII, pp. 345 ff.

3. Ed. by Rios in the appendix to vol. V of the *Historia critica*, pp. 344-468. For the other stories of the collection, see Knust, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

4. Baist, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

5. For this period see Ticknor, chaps. III and IV; Baist *op. cit.*, pp. 407-420; Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *History of Spanish Literature*, chaps. III and IV.

6. In vol. LI of the *Biblioteca*, pp. 367-439. Edited anew by A. Birch-Hirschfeld, from the notes of Knust, with variants and valuable notes, Leipzig, 1900.

In such a work as this we must not look for unity : and so it is that the *Cifar* falls naturally into three divisions, each quite independent of the others, justifying the division into three books introduced by the editor of the Seville print (See note 2 to previous chapter, and first part of Appendix A). These different parts are to be examined separately, and a separate chapter will be devoted to the fables and apologues, which are plentifully scattered through the three books.

We have now to do with the first part, which is based upon one of the most widely dispersed Christian legends of the middle ages.

The legend of *Saint Eustace*, or *Placidus*, as it is commonly called, of which so many Latin versions were made during the middle ages ¹, has left its traces in all the principal literatures of Europe, either in the form of direct translations into the vulgar idiom, or in the form of literary productions, that owe some of the elements of their plots to the story of the Saint. To the latter category belong such works as the Old English poem of *Syr Isambrace* ², Chrestien de Troye's *Guillaume d'Engleterre* ³ and its Old Spanish counterpart, and the German stories of *Die Gute*

1. See Knust, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-111. There is also a Latin prose version of the legend contained in a paper ms. of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid which bears the date 1432. The ms. is numbered 93, and contains the lives of several saints and martyrs. The life of St. Eustachius follows almost literally the version of the *Legenda Aurea*. For other Latin versions see H. Varnhagen, *Zwei latein. metr. Versionen der Legende von Placidus*, in the *Zeitschrift f. d. Alterth.*, XXV, pp. 241-245.

2. Edited in *The Thornton Romances*. The Early English metrical Romances of Perceval, Isumbras, Eglamore, and Degrevant, by J. O. Halliwell, London, 1844 (for the Camden Soc.).

3. Chrestien's poem edited by W. Förster, in vol. IV of *Christian von Troye's sämtliche Werke*, Halle, 1894. The Spanish paraphrase in Knust, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-170.

Frau ¹, and *Wilhelm von Wenden* ². All these have been studied by Holland ³, and later by Knust, in his introduction to the Spanish texts of *San Eustaquio* and the *Rey Guillelme* ⁴. To this class also belongs the first part of the Cifar, as we shall see by comparing it with the life of the Saint.

The primitive legend, according to the Latin and Greek texts of the *Acta Sanctorum* ⁵ is as follows.

Placidus is the commander of the forces of the Emperor Trajan. He is not a Christian, but is of a charitable and noble disposition, and has a good wife, and two boys that he has brought up with the greatest care. He is very fond of hunting, and one day, while in pursuit of a fine stag, he becomes separated from his companions. The stag turns and faces him, and he beholds between its horns, the sign of the cross. Filled with wonder he stops, and hears the stag speak, saying he is the Christ, who has appeared to him in this form that he may be turned to Christianity, and go to the Bishop of Rome and be baptized. Placidus believes, and hastens home to tell his wife of the miracle; but Christ has already appeared to her in a dream, and she is ready

1. Published in the *Ztschr. f. d. Alterth.*, vol. II, pp. 392-481.

2. *Wilhelm von Wenden*, ein Gedicht Ulrichs von Eschenbach, hrsgb. von W. Toischer, Prag 1876. See also R. Köhler, *Zu einer Stelle in U. von E. Wilhelm von Wenden*, Germania XXIII, p. 24 ff. (R. Köhler's, *Kl. Schriften*, ed. Bolte, Berlin, 1900, vol. II, p. 94 ff.).

3. W. Holland, *Christian von Troyes*, Tübingen, 1854, p. 64 ff.

4. Knust, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-106. To Knust's list of versions of the legend, add the rapprochements made by Köhler, *Kl. Schr.*, II, 250 ff., and those by Varnhagen in his review of Knust's publication in *Anglia* for 1880. See also ms. 9446 of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, fol. 81, for an Old French version described by P. Meyer in the *Bull. de la Soc. des Anciens Textes*, IV, 57.

I have before me the curious book whose title follows :

El Eustaquio ó la Religion laureada. Poema épico por el P. Fr. Antonio Montel. 2 tom., Malaga. 1796.

5. *Acta Sanctorum Mense Septembris*, tom. VI, Antverpiæ (1757), pp. 123 ff.

to believe also. At night they go to the Bishop with their children, and all are baptized. Placidus receives the name of Eustathius, while his wife is called Theospita, and his two sons Agapius and Theospitus ¹. On the next day Eustathius goes again into the forest, and again meets the stag. He is told that he is to be tried like Job, but that he must not lose courage and he will receive his reward. With this the vision disappears.

His trials begin with the loss of his slaves and his cattle by a pestilence; and when he has retired with his family to a safer place, thieves break into his home and take all that he has. With the loss of his wealth his friends begin to look down upon him, and, rather than endure their scorn, he sets out for Egypt with his wife and children.

After two days, they come to the sea, and seek a passage on one of the foreign ships in the harbor. They have no money for the fare; but the captain, seeing the beauty of Theospita, offers to retain her for pay, and on the indignant refusal of Eustathius has him thrown into the sea. He makes his way to the land, and weeping and lamenting, goes on his way with his children.

Before long he comes to a certain river that is so swollen with the recent rains that he dares not ford it with both boys. Leaving one on the bank, he takes the other across on his shoulders. When in mid-stream, he is horrified to see a lion bear off one child and a wolf the other before he can do anything to prevent them. In despair, and likening himself to Job, he goes on alone to a certain town, Badyssus by name, where he is able to earn a living by working in the fields. He does not know that shepherds have rescued one of his children from the lion, and ploughmen the other from the wolf, and that both are living in the same village, unknown to each other.

Theospita, meantime, is kindly treated by the Barbarian

1. The orthography of these names differs considerably in the different Latin versions.

captain, who does not approach her. He dies soon after they reach his country, and she lives alone in the garden of a certain rich man.

During this time the Barbarians invade Roman territory, and the Emperor sends soldiers in all directions to look for Placidus to lead his troops. Two of them, Antiochus and Achacius, former soldiers of Placidus, come to Badyssus. Placidus himself entertains them; but in answer to their inquiries, claims to know nothing of the man they seek, until they recognize him by a certain scar on his forehead. They tell him that he is to be raised to his former high estate, and clothe him in fitting raiment sent by the Emperor. They go back to Rome with him, where he is received with great pomp, and placed again in command of the army.

When recruits are called for, the two sons of Eustathius are sent from their village, as the most able and soldierly in the place. They come under the notice of the General, who makes them a part of his body-guard.

The army sets out, and crosses the Hydaspes river and comes to the town where Theospita is living; and it so happens that the tent of the General is pitched in her very garden. She herself entertains her two sons, who, in her presence, fall to relating stories of their childhood. From their stories they discover their relation to each other, and she recognizes them as her boys. Upon this she goes to the General, to tell him her story, and to beg him to take her to Rome. They recognize each other, and she tells him that their children are alive. After the general rejoicing, the Barbarians are defeated, and the army returns in triumph to Rome, where it is found that Trajan has been succeeded by Hadrian who is intolerant towards Christians.

The sacrifice of victory is celebrated in the temple of Apollo. Placidus does not sacrifice, and when taken to task by the Emperor, proclaims his Christianity. The Emperor orders him and his family to be cast into the arena, as prey for a lion; but

the beast refuses to touch them. All recognize the miracle but Hadrian, who orders a brazen ox to be heated, and Eustathius and his family to be cast into it. They enter praying. On the third day, when their bodies are taken out, they are found intact, and not a hair of their heads singed. Their bodies are reverently borne away by the Chistians, and given fitting burial, and a chapel is consecrated to their memory.

Such is the ancient legend which in the Cifar is transformed as follows :

In the India where Saint Bartholomew preached, there lived a noble Knight called Cifar by baptism, but afterwards called the *Caballero de Dios*, for his constant faith in God through many perils and hardships. This Knight had a wife named Grima, an excellent woman, and two boys named Garfin and Roboan. Cifar was much loved by his King for his prowess, but was always in poverty because it was his misfortune to have all his cattle and horses die when he had possessed them ten days. This made his services expensive in time of war, and together with the machinations of his enemies, was the cause of his loss of favor at court.

When the Knight saw himself in disgrace, he resolved to leave home with his family, believing in his grandfather's prophecy that some day he would come to be King as his ancestors had been before him (chap. x).

On the tenth day of their journey, Cifar's horse dies and he is obliged to go on foot. Next day they arrive at the city of Galapia, which the Knight by his prowess, liberates from a state of siege. He is overwhelmed with honors, but refuses to stay more than a month, during which time occurs the marriage of the Lady of the city with the son of the Count, her enemy, with whom she has become reconciled (chaps. XIII-XXXVIII). When the Knight leaves, he is provided with a good horse, which dies on the tenth day.

One day, while resting by a spring near the city of Mela,

Cifar falls asleep, leaving the two children to play together. Suddenly a lioness comes out of the neighboring wood, and snatches up the elder son and bears him away. The cries of the younger child awake Cifar, who sets out in pursuit, but to no purpose, and they are obliged to travel on without the child to Mela, where they arrive at the hour of vespers. In the city, the younger child wanders away from its parents and is lost. He is found by a good woman, the wife of a burgess, who later brings home Garfin, whom he has rescued from the lioness (chap. XLIII). These good people are childless, and bring up the boys as their own.

Meantime the Knight and his wife resolve to embark at the harbor of Mela for the Kingdom of Orbin. Unfortunately the sailors contrive to leave Cifar on shore, and set sail with the lady, whose beauty has put evil in their hearts (chap. XLI).

The Knight, left alone, prays that he may be reunited to his wife and children, even as « Eustachio » and his wife « Teospita », and their children « Agapito » and « Teospito » were reunited. Immediately a voice comes from Heaven, telling him to be of good cheer, for he will see them all again. So he takes heart, and travels on to the abode of a hermit. There he meets a *ribaldo* who tries to move him to anger. Finding the Knight proof against his attack, the Ribaldo tells him a way to better his fortune (chap. LII-LV).

The King of Menton is besieged by an enemy stronger than himself, and has promised the hand of his daughter and the succession of the crown to the Knight who shall be the means of freeing the City. The Ribaldo proposes that Cifar try to win the reward, and the success of the enterprise is announced to the hermit in a vision.

The Knight takes the Ribaldo as his page, and after a series of interesting adventures, they arrive at the city of Menton. To pass through the besieging army, Cifar plays the part of a madman who thinks himself the King of Menton. His plan for freeing the

city is successful; and after waiting two years for the Princess to become of age, he receives the reward of her hand. At this point the old King dies, and Cifar succeeds to the throne (chap. LXV-LXXX). He announces to his wife that he is bound to observe chastity as a penance for a sin he has committed, and under such conditions they live very happily, and rule very wisely and justly.

The good Grima meantime, finding herself at the mercy of the sailors, prays to the Virgin for protection. The sailors put her in the hold of the ship (chap. XLIV) and quarrel as to who shall possess her. They come to blows and fight until not a man is left. The lady hears a voice from Heaven bidding her go on deck and throw their bodies into the sea. She does this, and upon raising her eyes to give thanks for her deliverance, she sees the Christ-child seated above the sail (chap. XLV). Under his guidance she safely reaches a port of the Kingdom of Orbin, where she is well received by the King and Queen. She lives there nine years, endowing a convent with the wealth she had taken from the ship. At the end of that time she leaves in a fine ship, again guided by the Christ-child, and arrives at a port belonging to the King of Ester.

Upon learning that this country is ruled over by an unjust monarch, and upon hearing of the goodness of the King of Menton, she sets sail for Velid, in the latter kingdom, where she arrives in two days (chaps. LXXXII-LXXXIII). From there she goes on horseback to the capital of Menton. She at once goes to the chapel to hear mass. There she meets the Queen who questions her as to her country. She replies courteously, and announces her intention of building a refuge for the entertainment of *fijos dalgo viandantes*. In her interview with the King, in which she receives the necessary permission to establish the refuge, she knows him for her husband. He recognizes her as well and changes colour; but says nothing (chap. LXXXVIII).

Meantime the two boys Garfin and Roboan have been well

brought up by the burgess of Mela and his wife, and have reached the age to be made knights. The burgess, bethinking himself of the wellknown chivalry of the King of Menton, sends them to him that he may perform the ceremony. After a month's travel, they arrive at their mother's refuge where they are entertained. While passing through the city, they have been overheard discussing Garfin's escape from the lioness, and their conversation is reported to Grima, who recognizes them as her sons (chap. xcii).

That night, mother and boys sleep together in a large bed, and talk so late that they sleep *fasta hora de tercia*. When the Queen sends her messenger next morning to the lady, he finds her in bed with the two pages, and his report is confirmed by the King's alguazil. The King, filled with sorrow and anger, condemns Grima to be burned for the supposed crime (chap. xciv); but before the sentence is carried out he questions the pages. From their story he learns that they are his sons and pardons their mother.

(Here follows — Chaps. xcvi-cviii — the rebellion of Count Nason, which is put down by the united valor of Garfin and Roboan and the *Caballero Amigo*, which is the new name of the Ribaldo. Nason is burned, and his ashes are cast into an enchanted lake, whose mysteries are afterward investigated by a Knight called the *Caballero Atrevido* (chaps. cix-cxviii).

The boys are raised to positions of great honor, and the County of Nason is given to Garfin the younger son.

At this point the Queen opportunely dies, and the King, acting on a vision, recognizes his wife Grima and his sons before the great men of his realm (chap. cix). The whole family being now united, the King sends the *Caballero Amigo* with rich presents to the hermit who had foretold his success.

Despite the many deviations of the Spanish text from the Latin legend, the two stories are seen to be essentially the same.

It is true that the author of the *Cifar*, by leaving out the episodes of the miraculous conversion and the martyrdom, has denuded the legend of its specifically Christian character; but he has compromised by making the Knight and his wife God-fearing people, whose piety entitles them to the especial care of Christ and the Virgin Mary. The points in which the two stories absolutely agree are these.

a. A knight, who has lost honor in his own country, sets out with his wife and children to seek his fortune elsewhere.

b. The knight loses his wife and children.

c. The knight and his wife pass through independent series of adventures.

d. The children are found by strangers, and brought up in the same town.

e. The mother finds her two children and her husband.

f. The knight, who has reached a position of great honor, becomes reunited with his family.

The differences in detail between the legend and the *Cifar*, and the new motives introduced by the latter, will be taken up one by one.

I. We have in the legend the simple statement that Placidus loses all his cattle and horses by a pestilence. In the *Cifar* this detail becomes an important motive. The knight loses all his horses when he has owned them ten days. This misfortune is not only the cause of his poverty, but it is one of the chief trials of his journey, during which he loses four palfreys, the last of which falls dead at the door of the hermit's hut.

II. The description of the defence of Galapia, in which *Cifar* plays the important rôle, presents no particular interest, except for one trait that is sufficiently common in chivalric tales. When the knight is waiting to be admitted to the city with his wife and children, he is attacked by the nephew of the Count of Falac, who threatens to take away the woman and have his will of her. To mention only one similar instance, in the *Cuento del*

*Enperador Carlos Maynes*¹, Aubry, who has set out with the Queen, is pursued and attacked by Macaire, who utters a similar threat.

III. In the legend, Placidus loses first his wife at the seashore, and afterward his two children. In the Cifar these happenings are reversed. This peculiarity is found also in *Syr Isambrace*², whose hero loses two of his sons while his wife is still with him. In the stories of this group, the children are usually stolen by wild animals (Knust, *op. cit.*, p. 135, note *a*). The way in which the second child is lost in the Cifar is brought about much more naturally, and has the advantage of bringing the children together under the same roof. The spring near which the first child is stolen while its father sleeps, recalls the spring in the Old French poem of *Octavian*³, near which Florence is sleeping when her children are stolen, one by an ape, and the other by a lioness.

IV. In the Placidus, no importance is given to the trials of Theospita, while in the Cifar the adventures of Grima, after she falls into the power of the mariners, and up to the time of her first meeting with her husband, fill no less than twelve chapters (XLIV-LI and LXXXII-LXXXVII). The miraculous manner in which she is saved from the sailors by the intercession of the Virgin, recalls a similar incident in the story of *Una Santa Emperatriz de Roma*⁴.

1. See p. 12, note 4.

2. See p. 13, note 2.

3. *Octavian*, altfranzösische Roman, hrsgb. von K. Vollmöller, Heilbronn 1883, verses 405-570 (vol. III of the *Altfranzösische Bibliothek*). There are two Old English versions of the French poem (a). in H. Weber, *Metrical Romances of the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries*, Edinburgh, 1810, vol. III, p. 159 ff.; (b). *The Romance of the Emperor Octavian*, ed. J. O. Halliwell, London. English versions have been reedited by Dr Sarrazin in vol. III of the *Alt-Englische Bibliothek*.

4. Published by A. Mussafia in *Sitzungsberichte der K. K. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philos. Hist. Klasse, Wien, 1867, p. 508 ff. For variants of this

V. The fifteen years of exile and separation from his wife, are passed by Placidus in the simplest manner. The corresponding part of the *Cifar* is taken up by the adventures which culminate in the marriage of the knight with the Princess of Menton and his succession to the throne. Most of these adventures do not contribute to the plot, and will be referred to later, in connection with the *Ribaldo*; but one of them is introduced to solve the problem as to how the Knight shall enter the beleaguered city. At the *Ribaldo*'s suggestion they change garments before reaching the hostile army, and the Knight feigns madness. The scene at the camp is described with much spirit. At night-fall, amid the jeers of the soldiers, who call him King of Menton, the Knight approaches the walls of the city, stopping often to hurl stones against the towers. When under the battlements he drops the disguise and seeks admittance as a friend (chap. LXIV). This grotesque scene recalls at once the story of David, playing the madman at the court of Achis King of Gath (I Kings XXI, 10-15). There is a closer similarity between our story and the *Folie Tristan*¹. *Tristan* feigns madness in order to approach in safety the fair *Isolde*.

	Quant il ot passé mer,
	Passez est outre lo rivage.
	Ne vialt pas q'en lo taigne a sage :
130	Ses dras deront, sa chere grate,
	Ne voit home cui il ne bate
	Tondre a fait sa blois crine !
,	Ni a vn sol en la marine
	Qui ne croie que ce soit rage.
135	Mais ne sevent pas son corage.
	En sa main porte vne maque ;

story (story of *Crescentia*), see Alfonso el Sabio, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, Madrid, 1889, I, p. XLV.

1. *La Folie Tristan*, ed. H. Morf in *Romania*, XV, p. 558 ff. In the same volume (p. 511 ff.), W. Lutoslawski studies the different versions of the *Folie Tristan*.

Comme fox va : chascuns lo hue,
 Gitent li pierres a la teste.
 Tritanz s'en va plus n'i areste.
 140 Ensinc ala lonc tans par terre
 Tot por l'amor Ysiaut conquerre.

In one of the *Piacevoli Notti* of Straparola (Night 2, fable 2), the hero ingeniously saves the reputation of his mistress by playing the fool ¹.

VI. At this point the author of the Cifar introduces a new motive, which changes the character of the story, and brings about a serious complication. By freeing the city of Menton from its besiegers, Cifar receives the hand of the daughter of the King, and the succession to the throne.

A similar motive is found in a version of the Placidus given in the English translation of the *Gesta Romanorum* ².

Averroes, Emperor of Rome, organizes a tournament, the victor in which is to wed the Princess. The Knight Placidus, who has entered the lists at the instigation of his wife, comes off victor and is much honored by the Emperor. *Nothing more is said about the Princess.*

A closer parallel with the Cifar is given by the *Cuento de Otas* ³. The Emperor Otas of Rome, is besieged by the Emperor Garsyr of Greece; and to spur on his knights to do their best, he promises the hand of the Princess to the cavalier who shall display the most valor (chap. xxi).

1. The easiest edition to consult is the French translation published in the *Bibliothèque Elzévirienne*, Paris, 1857.

2. *The Old English version of the Gesta Romanorum*, edited by Sir Fred. Madden, London, 1838, p. 73 ff. (chap. xxiv). Madden's text re-edited for the Early English Text Society, by S. J. H. Herrtage, B. A., London (Trübner), 1879 (Extra series, no XXXIII). Analysis of this version of Placidus in Knust, *op. cit.*, p. 109. For other English versions, see Herrtage, note to p. 463.

3. See p. 12, note 4.

Amigos, menbrat uos de cómmo sodes de alto linaje, et muy buenos caualleros : punat de auer muy buenos coraçones, et prometo uos que aquel que lo mejor fezier oy en este canpo, que él ganará preçio para siempre; de guisa que él sea rico et onrrado en toda su vida; ca yo le daré á Florencia mi fija, que es de tan grant beldat, assy que el sea señor de Roma et de quanto yo hé, despues de mi muerte.

The battle takes place before the palace, and the fair Florence is able to watch the movements of her cavalier Esmere. In the same way the Infanta watches from the city walls the exploits of the Knight Cifar.

VII. Not until he has married the Princess does the Knight remember that, according to the divine promise, he is to recover wife and children : and his vow of chastity does not save him from the consequences of his thoughtlessness. Upon the reappearance of Grima he is unable to recognize her as his wife.

In the *Eliduc*¹ of Marie de France we have a story of a man with two wives. Eliduc, who is serving a foreign King, falls in love with the Princess, despite the fact that he has a wife at home. The two stories have two curious details in common. In each case the two wives meet first in a chapel, and in each case the first wife magnanimously gives way to the newcomer.

For the legend of the man with two wives, see G. Paris, *La Poésie du Moyen Age*, 2^e série, Paris, 1885, p. 109 ff.

VIII. To bring Garfin and Roboan to the notice of their father, our author has employed a motive which is a variant of a very popular theme. The two boys who are sent to the court of the King of Menton to be made knights, are found by their mother. They all sleep in one bed and are discovered in the morning. For her supposed crime Grima is sentenced to be burned.

This is a special case of the well-known theme of an innocent woman persecuted, of which the most famous examples are the

1. *Die Lais der Marie de France*, hrsgb. K. Warnke, mit vergleichenden Anmerkungen von R. Köhler, Halle 1900 (2^d ed.). Notes to *Eliduc*, p. cXLV ff.

legend of *Griselda* and the *Eric et Enide* of Chretien de Troyes ¹.

In the *Octavian*, the King and Queen have lived together for several years childless, when twins are born to them. Thereupon the King's mother insinuates that the Queen is unfaithful, and to prove her case, she persuades a lad of low degree ² to enter the Queen's bed, where he is discovered by the King. The Queen, despite her protestations of innocence, is sentenced to be burned; but the sentence is afterward commuted to banishment.

In the legend of *Una Santa Emperatrix de Roma* the same theme occurs. The Emperor goes on a pilgrimage, and on his return the Empress is denounced as a wanton by the Emperor's own brother, whose propositions she has rejected. She is sentenced to be taken to the mountains and quartered. Rescued by a Count, she becomes the object of the attentions of the Count's brother, who revenges himself for her disdain by making it appear that she has committed murder. She is again banished for her supposed crime.

Again in the *Cuento de Carlos Maynes*, the innocent Queen is undone by a dwarf who enters her bed while she sleeps. The

1. For *Griselda*, see R. Köhler, *Kl. Schriften*, vol. II, p. 66 ff.; Braga, *Contos tradicionais do povo português*, n° 167 and note. See also Braga, nos 128, 165, 39 and 40, for various versions of innocent woman persecuted.

2. In the French text, the youth is *un garson* (l. 193). In Halliwell's version, a *turn-broach*. In *Florent et Octavian*, described by P. Paris in the *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, vol. XXVI, p. 303 ff., the King's mother expresses herself as follows :

Il est six ans passés que vos cors l'espousa,
Et onques en sa vie nuls enfans ne porta.
Cuidiés vous donc avoir engendre celui-là?
Ce a fait un garson qui o luy soy coucha.

For the idea of infidelity involved in the bearing of twins, see Todd, *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*, Baltimore 1889, p. 95. (Publications of the Modern Language Ass. of America, IV, 2.)

Emperor finds him there, and sentences the Queen to be burned. As in the *Octavian*, at the intercession of some of the courtiers, the sentence is changed to banishment.

In chapter xxxvi of the *Conde Lucanor*¹, a merchant who has been many years away from home, returns. He finds a young man in bed with his wife. He is about to inflict summary justice on the guilty pair, when he learns from their conversation that the youth is his own son who has grown up in his absence.

In various tales, burning is the punishment for misdemeanours of women. In the story of *La Reine qui tua son sénéchal*, the Queen is to be burned, and, though guilty, is liberated by a hermit on account of her sincere repentance (R. Köhler, in *Romania*, XI, p. 582 ff.).

A guilty woman escapes from the same penalty in one of the miracles of Gauthier de Coincy (*Zeitschrift f. rom. u. eng. Phil.*, 1882, p. 325 ff.).

In the Launcelot fragment (VII-D-I) of the Royal Library of Madrid, Guinevere is condemned to be burned for her relations with Launcelot.

From the moment when Cifar recognizes his sons, to that of their public acknowledgement, considerable time elapses. This is filled up by the rebellion of Count Nason. The punishment of the Count, whose ashes are cast into the enchanted lake, introduces the story of the Dauntless Knight, which is a complete tale in itself, and the first appearance in the Cifar of the fantastic element that was later carried to such excess in the later romances of chivalry.

When the ashes of the Count are cast into the lake, a great wind arises, and strange noises are heard, and the waters of the lake are seen to boil furiously. These marvels, which

1. See p. 12, note 6. Comparative notes in Knust's edition, p. 379.

are repeated at intervals, come to the ears of a cavalier of the kingdom of Pamfilia, whose daring has earned for him the sobriquet of the Dauntless Knight (*Caballero Atrevido*). He determines to find out the origin of these wonders, and pitches his tent on the shore of the lake. One day a beautiful woman appears in the water, and persuades him to come out to her. When he reaches her, he is borne down through the bottom of the lake to an enchanted realm. The lady, who claims to be in love with him, makes him lord of the land, and he is received with great pomp.

The palace is a profusion of jewels, and during the banquet, in which ten thousand knights take part, the new ruler is entertained by magicians and jugglers who do impossible things. He is surprised that none of his subjects has a word to say; but the lady tells him that it is the custom of the country for no one to speak for seven weeks after the accession of a new King, unless addressed by him. He is told not to speak to any woman of the city, under penalty of losing his mistress forever.

It is a peculiarity of the land that all plants bear fruit in seven days after they are planted, and all animals give birth in seven days after they conceive. In seven days the Queen gives birth to a boy, who in seven days more grows to be as large as his father.

Wishing to see something of his kingdom, the Knight asks permission to ride through the city, which is granted. Attracted by the beauty of a maiden whom he sees in her doorway, he speaks to her, and beseeches her to grant him her love. The maiden refuses at first, then yields at the instance of another woman who is present. When the Dauntless Knight leaves the maiden's house, and returns to the palace, he finds his lady transformed into a frightful demon, who appears seated between Count Nason and one of his ancestors who had also been executed for treason. The demon tears out their hearts and eats them, crying in a horrible voice : « Go thy way with thy son, mad knight, for I am the Lady of Treason ».

Straightway, in the midst of a terrible earthquake, the knight and his son are whirled out of the lake on to the shore near the tent. There the knight tells his story to his men, who have given him up for lost. The son is christened *Alberto Diablo*, and becomes the founder of a long line of famous knights, all of them *mucho endiablados*.

This obscure allegory does not recall any other story with which I am familiar.

In a Portuguese folk tale, the devil causes a house and its occupants to vanish, and there rises in its place a sulphurous lake (Braga, *op. cit.*, n. 139).

Water, and especially the sea, has been considered, in the legends of all times, the abode of fabulous monsters and fairies. Not infrequently these supernatural beings have loved mortal men and women. In the Breton legends, *Launcelot of the Lake* is the foster-child of a fairy of the lake, and *Tydorel* the offspring of a « man of the lake » and a Queen of Brittany ¹. In the Arabian Nights, *Sourire de Lune* is the child of a mermaid and a Sultan ². In a Portuguese tale, a « woman of the sea » marries a mortal and lives happily as the mother of a numerous family ³.

The most obvious conclusion to be drawn from the above parallels is, that the author of the *Cifar* has used as the skeleton of his story, the primitive *Placidus* legend, which, judging from the names « *Teospito* », « *Agapito* », etc., was known to him through the medium of a Spanish translation ⁴.

It is perhaps merely a coincidence that the ms. which contains the Spanish *Plácidas*, should contain also the tales which

1. G. Paris, in *Romania* X, p. 476.

2. *Les Mille Nuits et une Nuits*, trad. Mardrus, vol. IX.

3. Braga, *op. cit.*, n° 127.

4. The very forms used in the Spanish *Plácidas*. See Knust, *op. cit.*, p. 130; *Cifar*, Michelant's ed., p. 70, l. 26.

have been oftenest referred to in the illustrations (*Otas*, *Carlos Maynes*, *Una Santa Emperatrix*); but it seems almost certain that our author knew either these translations or their French originals¹.

To the evidence which I shall bring forward in chapter iv in support of the theory that our author was familiar with certain French texts of the *matière de Bretagne*, may be added the references I have made here to the *Folie Tristan*, to *Eliduc*, and to the fundamental idea of the *Launcelot*.

III

THE DIDACTIC PORTION OF THE CIFAR

At the end of the first book we leave the kingdom of Menton at peace. The King notifies his eldest son that he is to succeed to the throne, and advises him to divide the realm with his brother Roboan. Roboan, however, asks permission to leave the country with a body of chosen knights, to seek his fortune; and after a little parley his request is granted. The good King considers this an excellent opportunity to give the young Princes some instructions as to the duties of a ruler, and the responsibilities of knighthood.

The next day, after hearing mass, he has them seat themselves before him, *las caras contra el, bien asi como maestro que quiere demostrar a sus escolares* (Michelant, p. 176). The instructions fill the second book, which is divided into fifty-three chapters. Of these, eleven consist of illustrative anecdotes, while in the last Garfin and Roboan thank their father for his good advice.

1. These are all French texts of the 13th cent. The Spanish translation dates, it is supposed, from the first quarter of the 14th. See Baist, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

In the remaining forty-one chapters, the virtues that go to the making of a perfect knight and ruler, are arranged according to categories. For this matter the author did not have to consult Latin and Greek books. Classical as well as oriental ethical treatises had already been epitomized in Castilian, and it was only necessary to copy or combine or re-arrange, according as one or the other of these procedures best suited his purpose. Excepting in the case of a few Biblical allusions, we need not look beyond the Spanish didactic works of the 13th century for the sources of this part of the Cifar.

It is known that the greater part of the *Flores de Filosofia* has been used in the Cifar, in the form of a literal copy ¹. It is possible to show that certain passages of the second *Partida* ² and the *Castigos é Documentos* ³ have been used in the same way; but in general, these works when used, have been so modified as to have lost their identity.

Of the forty chapters or « leyes » that make up the *Flores*, thirty-three are found in the Cifar. The absence of the others may be due to their absence in the ms. used by our author, or, what is more probable, to the fact that their substance had already been taken from other sources. The following list of the parallel passages of the two texts, will show how the « leyes » have been broken up and scattered.

Ley II,	These leyes, which are also to be found in the <i>Bocados de Oro</i> ⁴ , have been considerably amplified in the Cifar II, chap. II and III.
Ley III,	

1. See p. 9, note 1.

2. *Las Siete Partidas del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio*, ed. La Real Acad. de la Hist. Madrid 1807.

3. See p. 12, note 1.

4. Ed. Knust, in *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial*, Tübingen 1879, p. 70, chap. III.

- Ley IV, Cifar (Michelant's ed. 1), p. 217, ll.21-29.
p. 218, ll.1-14.
- Ley V, » p. 187, ll.12-35.
- Ley VI, » p. 218, l.29 — p. 219, l.15.
- Ley VII, » p. 192, ll.31 to p. 193, l.7.
- Ley VIII, » p. 219, l.17 to p. 220, l.7.
- Ley IX, » p. 220, ll.7-20.
p. 248, l.14 — chap. xv.
- Ley X, » p. 249, l.34 to p. 250, l.13.
- Ley XI, » p. 193, l.31, to p. 194, l.9.
- Ley XII, » p. 201, l.27 to p. 202, l.37.
- Ley XIII, » p. 200, ll.9-27.
- Ley XIV, » p. 200, l.29, to p. 201, l.1.
- Ley XV, » p. 201, ll.1-14.
- Ley XVI, » p. 230, ll.18-34.
- Ley XVII, » p. 230, l.36, to p. 231, l.1.
p. 183, l.26, to p. 184, l.7.
- Ley XVIII, The first part of this ley is elaborated in
Cifar II, chap. v; the second part is
found p. 183, ll.15-19.
- Ley XIX, Cifar, p. 203, ll.1-11.
- Ley XX, » p. 203, ll.20-34.
- Ley XXI, » p. 204, ll.2-11.
- Ley XXIII, » p. 231, ll.1-12.
- Ley XXIV, » p. 245, chap. XLIV to p. 246, l.8.
- Ley XXV, » p. 222, ll.10-30.
- Ley XXVI, » p. 231, l.25 to p. 232, chap. xxxvi.
- Ley XXVII, » p. 194, l.23 to p. 195, l.3.
- Ley XXVIII, » p. 244, ll.12-30.
- Ley XXIX, » p. 232, l.26 to p. 234, l.6.
- Ley XXX, » p. 250, ll.13-29.
- Ley XXXI, » p. 234, l.9, to end of chap. xxxvi.
- Ley XXXII, » p. 246, l.20 to p. 247, l.6.
- Ley XXXIII, » p. 247, ll.6-23.

cresçer cobdiçia entre ellos por que se aya de desfazer su comunidad, e seran seguros de non salir de rregla e de derecho. E non deue ninguno delos del rreyno rreprehender al rrey sobre las cosas que fiziere para enderezamiento del rreyno, ca todos los del rreyno se deuen guiar por el rrey. Esabed que con obediencia se hemiendan las peleas e se guardan los caminos, e aprouesen los buenos : ca nunca fue omen que pugnase en desobedesçer al rrey, que le non diese dios mala andança ante que muriese.

de rregla e de derecho. E non deue ninguno de los del rregno rreprehender [al rrey] sobre las cosas que el fiziere por enderezamiento del rregno, ca todos los del rregno se deuen guiar por el rrey. E sabed que con la obediencia se viedan las peleas e se saluan e se estoruan los caminos dellas, e aprouesen los bienes. E nunca fue omne que pugnase en desobedesçer al rrey, que le non diese Dios mal que-branto ante que muriese.

Of the mss. that we possess of the *Flores*, the Cifar follows most closely the longer version of the ms. h-III-1, of the Escorial and the ms. 9428 (old n° Bb. 106) of the Biblioteca Nacional. The following text of the *Flores* is that of the ms. 9428.

Cifar p. 234. ll.9 ff.

E ciertamente non ay mejor ganancia nin mayor rriqueza que seso e non ay mayor perdida nin mayor pobreza que locura e torpedat. Ca el loco quanto mas le cresçe el auer e el poder, tanto cresçe en la soberuia : ca çierta mente fuerte dolencia es en el omen la locura. E por ende dizen que quien de locura enferma, tarde sana della. Onde sabed que el cuerpo es atal commo commo el rreyno, e el sesso atal commo el rrey, e las maneras son commo el pueblo. Pues sy pudiere el rrey mas que el pueblo, enderesçar lo ha; e sy pudiere el pueblo mas que el rrey, puede se perder el rrey e el pueblo. E los coraçones

Flores, chap. XXXI., F. 12^{vo}.

Sabet que non ha mejor ganancia que seso; e non ha peor ganancia que torpedat e locura e soberuia. Ca sabet que el cuerpo es commo el rregno, e el seso commo el rrey, e las maneras son commo el pueblo. Pues si podiere el rrey mas que el pueblo, enderesçar lo ha, e guiar lo ha bien. E si podiere el pueblo mas que el rrey, puede se perder el pueblo e el rrey. Ca los coraçones sin seso son commo la tierra yerma sin lauor; e los coraçones con seso son commo la tierra que es poblada de buenos pobladores : ca los sesos pobladores son del coraçon. Onde cada cosa ha menester seso; e los sesos han menester de se poblar e usar se. Ca sabet que el seso es guaiador del cuerpo eneste mundo e del alma enel

syn seso son comme la tierra que es yerma e syn labor; e los coraçones con seso, son comme la tierra poblada de buenos labradores; ca los sesos pobladores son del coraçon.

E sabed que el seso es guiador del cuerpo eneste mundo e del alma en el otro: pues quando dios quiere tirar su merçed al omen, lo primero que le faze tirale el seso. Onde veed qual es la nobleza del seso; ca el que non lo ha non lo puede comprar por auer, e al que lo ha, non gelo pueden furtar. Ca maguer despienda omen dello, non mengua. E por ende mejor es que sea el omen conplido de seso e menguado de palabra, que conplido de palabra e menguado de seso; ca el seso es padre del creyente, e la paçiençia es su hermana, e la mansedad es su guiador. Pues non ay mejor amigo que el seso, nin peor enemigo que la locura. Ca quien non gano sesso, non le vale nada quanto gano; e quien a conplimiento de sesso, nunca avra mala mengua. Ca aquel es sesudo el que non a envidia a ninguno, nin le tiene mal coraçon, nin lo engaña, nin lo mal trae, nin le toma lo suyo asyn rrazon. Otrosi es sesudo aquien non vence su voluntad, e pecha mucho por lo poco que le fazen, e non se trabaja por las cosas que de mal nasçen.

otro. *E quando dios quiere toller su merced algund pecador, lo primero que le faze tuelle le el seso. E la lengua del loco es llaue de su poco seso. E pues vet qual es la nobleza del seso, que el que non ha, non lo puede comprar. E el que lo ha non gelo pueden furtar*¹. *E maguer espienda dello omen asaz, non menguara por ende; ca mejor es que sea omen conplido de seso e menguado de palabra, que conplido de lengua e menguado de seso. Ca el seso es padre del rreyente*², *e la paçiençia su hermana, e la mansedat su guiador. E pues sabet que non ha mejor amigo que el seso, nin peor enemigo que la locura. E quien non gana seso, que le vale quanto gana? E quien es menguado de seso, que es el otro conplimiento que ha? Ca quien ha conplimiento de seso nunca avra mala menga. E aquel es sesudo que non ha envidia a ninguno, nin le tiene mal coraçon, nin le pecha mal por mal, nin lo engaña, nin lo lisonja, nin lo mal trae, nin le toma lo suyo sin derecho. Otrosi es sesudo al que non le vence su voluntat, e pecha mucho bien por el poco que le fazen, e que non trabaja delas cosas en que le non meten.*

With the exception of chapter I which is introductory, and of chapters IV, VIII, X, and XIII, which are interpolated

1. Read *furtar*.

2. Read *creyente*.

anecdotes, the first eighteen chapters of Book II of the Cifar represent the *Flores*.

Chapters xviii to xxvii have grouped together under the title « The Nobility of Kings », certain categories that are common to the second *Partida*, the *Secretum Secretorum*¹, and the *Castigos é Documentos*. While the arrangement is evidently that of the *Partida*, as can be seen from the following scheme, the treatment is so free that it can not be shown that any one of these texts has been followed closely.

La nobleza delos rryes e de los grandes señores deue ser en tres maneras. (Cifar p. 205, l.19).

A. La primera catando lo de Dios (chaps. xix-xxii)

1) Que teme el poder de Dios (chap. xix)

2) Que conozca su verdad. (chap. xx)

3) Que guarde la su bondad (chap. xxi)

B. La segunda catando lo dellos mismos (chaps. xxiii-xxv)

1) Guarda del coraçon de cobdicia de onrras, e delas rriquezas e deleytes (chap. xxii)

2) Guarda dela lengua. (chaps. xxiii & xxiv)

(Part. II, título II). Qual debe el rey seer en conoscer, et amar et temer d Dios.

Tit. II, Ley III). Cómo el rey debe temer d Dios por el su grant poder.

Ley I). Cómo debe el rey conoscer d Dios et por quales razones.

Ley II). Cómo el rey debe amar d Dios par la grant bondat que es en él.

Tit. III). Qual debe el rey seer en si mesmo, et primeramente en sus pensamientos.

Ley III). Cómo el rey non debe cobdiar en su corazon grandes honras ademas.

Ley IV). Cómo el rey non debe cobdiar en su corazon grandes riquezas ademas.

Ley V). Que el rey non debe cobdiar ser muy vicioso.

Tit. IV). Qual debe ser el rey en sus palabras.

1. Originally written in Arabic, and translated into Latin. Printed in Paris in 1520 under title, *Secretum Secretorum Aristotelis*.

3) Dar cabo alo que comiença.
(p. 208, l. 19)

C. La terceira catando lo de los pue-
blos (chaps. xxv-xxvii)

1) Reprehender alos omes con razon
e con derecho e syn saña; amar jus-
ticia (chap. xxv).

2) Saber los sofrir con piedad (chap.
xxvi).

*Tit. V). Qual debe el rey seer en sus
obras.*

*Tit. X). Qual debe el rey seer comu-
nalmente a todos los de su señorio.*

*The contents of these two chapters is
summarized in Título X, Ley II. A
much fuller version is found in the Cas-
tigos é Documentos, chap. IX (Que
fabla de cómo debe home amar justicia),
and chap. XXX (Que fabla qué cosa es
piedat, é cuántos bienes nascen della).*

Several isolated passages appear to be reminiscences of the *Partida*. Chapter xli, on liberality, and the passage p. 231, ll. 12-25, on the same subject, paraphrase *Ley XVIII* of *Título V*.

The King's duty to his relatives is pointed out in the *Cifar*, p. 195, l. 3 ff., and in the second *Partida*, *Título VIII* (*Qual debe el rey seer a los otros sus parientes, et ellos a el*).

In the *Cifar*, chap. xlviii (*De commo el rrey de Menton dezia a sus fijos de commo los señores deuen de guardar todas las sus tierras e todos los lugares de despechamientos*), the mutual dependence of the King and his subjects on each other, is discussed. The same subject is developed more freely in *Partida II, título XI* (*Que debe el rey seer a su tierra*), and *título XIII* (*Qual debe seer el pueblo en conocer, et en amar, et en temer, et en honrrar, et en servir al rey*). Finally, in each text Kings are warned against youthful counsellors in this striking proverb.

Cifar, p. 224, l. 31.

Onde dize la ssanta escriptura : que
non esta bien el rreyno do el rrey es
moço e sus consejeros comen de ma-
ñana.

Título V, Ley II.

*Et desto dixo el rey Salomon... ¡ ay
de la tierra de que el rey es niño, et los
mayorales comen muy de mañana!*

The *Castigos é Documentos* has been used freely in the compilation of this part of the *Cifar*, but in general not literally. There

are some passages, however, that show plainly enough that this text was under the eye of our author.

Cifar, p. 242, l. 17.

Mas, fijos, ssy quisierdes semejar adios en las obras, dad al que vos demandare, e avn alos desconosçidos, ca dios asy lo faze, ca non veedes que, quando naçe el sol, que tambien escallienta alos malos commo alos buenos. Ca çierto non dexa dios de acrecentar en sus bienes fechos, con condiçion que se aprouechen dellos todas las cosas del mundo. E por ende, sy le querredes ssemejar en las obras, dad demientra pudierdes, e avn que muchas cossas sean mal enpleadas e non vos las rreconoscan; ca el desconosçido non fara avos tuerto, mas asy mesmo, ca mengua enel su entendimiento que dios le dio para conosçer bien e mal. Ca el de buen conosçer syenpre se deleyta enel don que rresçibio: ca se acuerda del cada dia. E el desconosçido non se deleyta enel don mas de vna vegada, e esto es quando lo rresçibe, que luego se le oluida. Otro ssy lo que prometierdes, dad lo luego entodas guissas, ca sy non lo dierdes, judgar vos an por mintrosos, e que dessuariades en vuestros fechos, e que non estades enlo que posistes e prometistes. E sy don prometedes a aquel que non es digno nin lo meresçe, deuedes gelo dar en todas guisas, pues que gelo prometistes; e non en manera de don, mas por ser estables en vuestra palabra.

Castigos, p. 119.

Pone Séneca que el oficio de la largueza es en dar á todo home que demanda, é en semejar á Dios que da tambien á los malos como á los buenos, é face nascer el sol sobre los buenos é sobre los malos, é llueve sobre los justos é sobre los non justos. Non queda Dios de dar beneficios, teniendo mientes á una entencion que es aprovechar á todos. Porende debémosle semejar, aunque se pierda aquello que diéremos; é si alguno es desconocido, non me fizo á mi tuerto, mas á si mesmo. Et dice mas, que non es de grand corazon dar el beneficio et non lo perder; mas dar et perder es de grand corazon.

*Onde dice Tullio que si prometieres al malo, dádalo, non así como don, mas así como á aquel que redime su prometi-
miento;*

The following extract shows the way in which the Cifar often combines portions of two different works in the same chap-

ter : and furthermore illustrates the practical value of the *Flores* in reconstructing the text of the Cifar, as this chapter does not occur in either of the mss., but in the early print alone.

(Cifar, p. 244, chap. XLII ; ed. of Sevilla, f. 67 r.)

Pero, hijos, mirad que dos maneras son de hombres largos : a los vnos dizen prodigos, e a los otros dizen liberales. Los prodigos son los que despienden lo que han en comer e en beuer, e con hombres desconcertados e con hombres de mal consejo, e dan lo que tienen a los garçones e a los malos hombres : e los liberales son los que dan sus dones a sus criados, e para redimir catiuos, e a sus amigos para casamientos de sus hijos, o para alguna cosa honesta, si les fuere menester. E assi entre las mejores virtudes de las buenas costumbres es la liberalidad ; que toda franqueza es en dios que la ama e la precia. Y porende la franqueza trae amor de dios e la escaseza desamor : que tan gran placer ha el franco de dar commo el escaso de tomar.

(*Castigos*, p. 120, col. 1.)

Onde dice Tullio : Dos linajes hay de largos ; uno de denostar é el otro de alabar : el uno de los gastadores que despienden todos los algos en comer e en beberes é en dar d garçones é d malos homes é d malos usos de que non puede fincar memoria ninguna. Otros son liberales é francos, que facen muchas buenas obras con sus algos :

(*Flores*, chap. XXVIII, p. 60.)

Sabed que toda la franquesa, que es de Dios [e él la ama] pues la franquesa aduse amor, e la escaseza desamor. E tan gran saber ha el franco de dar commo el escaso de tomar.

In other cases, the general idea of a chapter has been borrowed from the *Castigos*, the author developing the subject in his own way.

Chap. xxvii of the Cifar (*De commo el Rey de Menton dexia a sus fijos que todos los Reyes deuen auer sus consejos con los perlados de la madre santa iglesia*), corresponds to chap. xvi of the *Castigos* (*Que fabla de cómo el rey é todos los otros señores se deben llegar á los perlados é sabidores de la ley porque son oficiales de nuestro Señor Dios*), and in each case the King and the priest are likened to two swords : the *espada espiritual*, and the *espada temporal*.

Cifar, chap. xxxiii (*De commo se deuen guardar los omes de aquellos que una vez les han herrado*), represents *Castigos*, chap. xlviii (*Que fabla de cómo non debe home aventurarse muchas vegadas, nin fiar del home que haya probado por malo*).

In chapter xxxvii of the *Cifar*, and in chap. xiv of the *Castigos*, under the category « generosity », reference is made to the proverbial liberality of Alexander.

The use of the *Castigos* has not been confined to the Second Book. The dialogue between the Knight and the Ribaldo, at the beginning of their acquaintance, which has already been mentioned, is an extension of a part of chap. xlv of the *Castigos*. The two texts, so far as they go side by side, are as follows.

Cifar, p. 84, l. 6.

E el Ribaldo se partio del cauallero muy pagado, e fuese para su choça. E otro dia rrecudio al cauallero e dixole :

« Cauallero desaumentado, mal dizen los omes de ty. »

« Çierto, bien puede ser eso, dixo el cauallero, ca sienpre dizen mal los que bien non saben, e por ende con ygual coraçon deue omen oyr los denuestos de los neçios. »

El rribaldo le dixo : « Cauallero desaumentado, pobre eres, e graue cosa es la pobreza para tal omen como tu. »

« Çierto, dixo el cauallero, mas grave so yo ala pobreza que non ella a mi ; ca en la pobreza non ay pecado ninguno, e en el rrico sy ; ca non se tiene por abondado de lo que dios le da, e por ende peca. E por ende creas tu que aquel es pobre el que por pobre se tiene, e non es rrico el que mas ha ; mas el que menos cubdiçia. »

Castigos, p. 172.

Tullio dice : « Mal fablan de tí los homes. »

Responde Séneca : « Non facer placer á los malos, es ser el home alabado. Non ha ninguna autoridad la sentencia de los malos, nin ha fuerza que el dapno dapne. Mal fablan de mí los que non saben hablar : non dicen lo que yo mereço, mas lo que suelen. Con igual corazon son de oír los denuestos de los malos é los sus alabamientos : de menospreciar es el su menosprecio ».....

El home dice : « Muy pesada me es la pobreza. »

Responde Séneca : « Ante eres tu pesado á ella. En la pobreza non es el pecado mas en el pobre. Pobre es porque te semeja que es pobre, é si non lo cuidases non lo serias. »

El Ribaldo le dixo : « Cauallero desauenturado, muchos tuertos has de rresçibir. »

« Plaze me, dixo el cauallero, por que non puedo nin los quiero fazer a ninguno. »

El Ribaldo le dixo : « Cauallero desauenturado, nunca seras poderoso. »

« Por çierto, dixo el cauallero, mientras yo ouiere paçiençia e alegria, poder avre en mi, ca tu crey que aquel non es poderoso el que non ha poder en sy. »

El Ribaldo le dixo : « Cauallero desauenturado, nunca seras tan rrico commo el señor de aquel castillo que alli paresçe. »

« Del señor de aquel castillo me fablas ? dixo el cauallero. Sepas que arca es de bolsas de enbidia peligrosa ; ca todos le han enbidia por lo desfazer. »

El Ribaldo le dixo : « Cauallero desauenturado, digo te que grand algo ha. »

« Non lo ha, dixo el cauallero, si escaso as, ca non sabe lograr ; e si desgastador es non lo avra ; ca la su vida non la sabe tenplar. »

El Ribaldo le dixo : « Cauallero desauenturado, muchos acompañan aquel rrico. »

« E que marauilla, dixo el cauallero, ca *las moscas siguen ala miel, e los lobos ala carne, e las formigas alos granos*. Ca tu crey bien por çierto que *aquella conpañã que tu vees alli non siguen aquel rrico, mas siguen alo que piensan leuar del*. »

« Cauallero desauenturado, dixo el Ribaldo, *rrico eras e perdiste tu auer*. »

El home dice : « Podré rescibir tuerto. »

Responde Séneca : « Gozate, porque non lo podrás fazer. »

El home dice : « Non soy poderoso. »

Responde Séneca : « Gozate, porque non serás sin poder nin te desapoderard ninguno. ».....

El home dice : « Grand algo ha aquel. »

Responde Séneca : « Non lo júdgues por home, ca arca es que tiene guardados los dineros, é aquel que ha envidia de los que están llenos, arca es vacía. »

El home dice : « Mucho ha aquel. »

Responde Séneca : « Muchas moscas siguen á la miel, é muchos cernícalos siguen á los cuerpos muertos, é muchas formigas siguen al trigo. » E esto se puede decir de los que siguen al rey ó al enperador, que tal conpañã sigue la presa et non al home.

El home dice : « Perdi el haber. »

« *Bien auenturado es, dixo el cauallero, aquel que lo perdio; ca perdio conel la escaseza.* »

« *Pero perdiste tu auer, dixo el Ribaldo.* »

El cauallero le dixo : « Natural cosa es el auer andar de mano en mano, e por ende deues tu creer quel auer nunca se pierde; ca quando vno lo pierde, otro lo cobra; ca *quando yo lo oue, otro lo perdio.* »

« Pero, dixo el Ribaldo, perdiste tu auer. »

« E por que me persigues tanto? dixo el cauallero; ca mejor fue que perdiese yo ael, que non que el perdiese ami. »

« Cauallero desauenturado, dixo el Ribaldo, perdiste la muger e los fijos e non lloras. »

« *Loco es, dixo el cauallero, el que llora la muerte de los mortales;... Amigo, que marauilla es de se perder los mis fijos e la mi muger, que se perdio lo que se auie de perder: e yo se bien quien los leuo para sy, ca suyos eran e assy me los tiro.* »

El Ribaldo le dixo : « Cauallero desauenturado, grand dolor te verna agora. »

« Ssy es pequeño, dixo el cauallero, suframos lo; ca ligera cosa es la paciència e buena de sufrir; e si es grande, suframos lo; ca grande es la gloria de dios en saber omen sufrir e pasar los dolores de aqueste mundo. »

« Para mientes, dixo el Ribaldo al cauallero, ca el dolor cosa es muy dura e muy fuerte, e *pocos son los omens que la pueden sufrir bien.* »

« E que cuydado as tu, dixo el ca-

Responde Séneca : « Bien andante eres si con el haber perdiste la cobdicia é el avaricia. »

El home dice : « Perdí las riquezas. »

Responde Séneca : « Otro las perdió ante que las hobieses. »

....*El home dice* : « Perdí los fijos. »

Responde Séneca : « Loado es el que loa la muerte de los mortales. Perescieron los que habian de perescer. Rescibió los Dios, que non te los tiro. »

....*Tullio dice* : « He aqui el dolor. »

Responde Séneca : « Si pequeño es sufrámos lo, porque es pequeña la pasciencia : si grande sufrámoslo eso mesmo porque es pequeña la gloria en la grand pasciencia. »

Aun el home aboga por el temor é dice : « Dura cosa es el dolor. »

Responde Séneca : « ¿ Así eres tu muelle? Pocos saben sufrir el dolor, e seamos nos dellos. »

uallero, si lo quiero sofrir, e ser vno de aquellos que lo pueden sofrir? »

Cifar, p. 86.

E el Ribaldo le dixo : « Cauallero desauenturado, *enfermaras de fiebre.* »

« Enfermare, bien lo creas, dixo el cauallero, *ca dexara la fiebre a mi, e yo a ella.* »

...El Ribaldo le dixo : « Cauallero desauenturado, *morras desterrado.* »

« *Non es, dixo el cauallero, el sueño mas pesado en casa que fuera de casa.* »

....El Ribaldo le dixo : « Cauallero desauenturado, *morras mançebo.* »

« *Muy mejor es, dixo el cauallero, auer omen la muerte ante que la cubdiçie.* » « *Ca si mançebo he de morir, por ventura la muerte que tan ayna viene, me sacara de algund grand mal que me podria acaesçer mientra biuiese. E por ende non he de contar quantos años he auido, mas quantos años he de auer; ca esta es la mi hedad conplida, onde qualquier que viene a la postrimeria de sus fados muere viejo e non mançebo.* »

Cifar, p. 87, l. 32.

El Ribaldo le dixo : « Cauallero desauenturado, despues que murieres, *quien te soterrara?* »

« El que quisiere quitar las carnes fediondas delante sy », dixo el cauallero.

El Ribaldo le dixo : « Cauallero desauenturado, *quien te fara la sepultura?* »

« E por que? dixo el cauallero; ca la mas ligera cosa es del mundo de echar el cuerpo en la sepultura, mayor mente que la tierra es casa de todas las cosas deste mundo, e tressibelas de

Tullio dice : « Enfermarás. »

Responde Séneca : « Desampararé yo á la fiebre ó ella á mí. »

....*Tullio dice : « Morrás desterrado. »*

Responde Séneca : « Non es mas fuerte el sueño fuera de casa que dentro de casa. »

....*Tullio dice : « Morrás mançebo. »*

Responde Séneca : « Muy buena cosa es morir home ante que lo desechen. »

....« *Non hay departimiento nin conuiene de contar cudntos años has, mas cudntos rescibiste, si mas vivir non podiste; ca esta es tu vejedat, porque qualquier que viene á la postremeria de su fado muere viejo.* »

Tullio dice : « Non te soterrarán. »

Responde Séneca : « Ligero es el quebranto en cualquier manera que se destruya el cuerpo, quier por corrupcion, quier por fuego; ca si non lo sientes, non te pesa que el cuerpo sea soterrado. Si lo sientes, toda sepultura es tormento, ca la sepultura non fué fallada por razon de los defuntos, mas por razon de los vivos. »....

grado. E creed que *la sepoltura non se*
faze synon por onrra delos biuos.... »

In using these different texts as freely as he has done, the author of the Cifar has followed the universal custom of his time. No better illustration can be given of this practice than that furnished by the fate of the *Secretum Secretorum*, which gave rise to the *Poridad de las Poridades* ¹, was used extensively by Alfonso X in the second *Partida*, by Sancho IV in the *Castigos é Documentos*, and in the 14th century by Pero Gomez Barroso in his *Libro de los Consejos y Consejeros* ². To examine any two of these texts, is to be confronted by a mass of parallel passages, often strikingly similar.

I have not by any means exhausted the number of passages in the Cifar that recall one or another of its predecessors. I have preferred to neglect many which, however interesting in themselves, would not enable me to draw any definite conclusion.

IV

THE CIFAR AND THE MATIÈRE DE BRETAGNE

The adventures of Roboan, the younger son of the King of Menton, begin under the most favorable of auspices.

He leaves home with a hundred asses loaded with gold and silver, and three hundred knights, the flower of the realm, among them the redoubtable Cauallero Amigo ³.

After a journey of a hundred days, uneventful except for the honor with which he is received in all the cities through he passes, he arrives at the kingdom of Pandulfa, which is ruled

1. Unedited. See H. Knust in *Jahrbuch für rom. und eng. Lit.*, tom. X, pp. 153 and 303.

2. Unedited. See Ms. 9216 of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid.

3. The Ribaldo.

by the Lady Seringa (chaps. vi-xv). By his bravery and generalship he is able to defeat the King of Grimalet, who had been devastating the land, and aided by the good offices of the Cauallero Amigo who acts as ambassador, he conciliates another enemy, the King of Brez, and concludes a peace the terms of which insure the kingdom of Pandulfa against any further invasion.

Seringa's uncle, Count Ruben, realizes the advantages of having so admirable a knight permanently among them, and proposes to give him his niece in marriage; but Roboan has other plans and declines the honour. Meantime the lady herself is not proof against Roboan's « *cortesía* », when combined with her uncle's wishes and the suggestions of her Lady-in-waiting : and on the day of his departure she contrives to let him know how she feels toward him. Roboan's heart cannot resist the direct attack : and while he insists on leaving to hunt up other adventures, he promises to return for her in a year's time. Seringa being quite satisfied with this arrangement, the knight begins again his travels with her ring as a souvenir (chaps. XXI-XXII ¹).

Continuing to act as mediator between oppressor and oppressed, he puts an end to the strife between the Count of Turbia and his vassals (chaps. XXIII-XXIV), and travels on to the Empire of Trigrida, whose ruler makes him a knight according to the rite prevailing in that country.

Roboan's good qualities soon make him the foremost of the Emperor's counsellors, to the disgust of the others, whose jealousy brings about the adventure which forms the chief interest of the Third Book, and may be called *The Story of the Emperor who never laughed*.

The Emperor of Trigrida had a strange defect — he never was known to laugh : and anyone who had the temerity to question him on this peculiarity,

1. This ring is not mentioned until later.

paid for his inquisitiveness with his head. Roboan was ignorant of this state of things, and the counsellors whom he had replaced in the Emperor's favor planned to dispose of him by persuading him to ask the fatal question.

In his ignorance he falls into the trap, but the Emperor spares his life on account of the great friendship between them (chap. xxix). Instead of putting him to death, he leads him to the shore of the sea, where he finds waiting an unmanned boat, which he bids him enter.

As soon as the knight steps in, the boat leaves the shore of its own accord, and all night flies over the sea with the speed of the wind. In the morning, Roboan finds himself approaching lofty cliffs, unbroken excepting for an iron postern, before which the boat comes to the shore. The gate opens to admit him, and at once closes behind him. At the end of a long subterranean passage is another postern which likewise opens. There stand in waiting two beautiful damsels, who have come to conduct him to the Empress of the island. On the way the maidens entertain him with a description of their mistress who is the daughter of *Don Yuan* and the *Señora del Parescer*.

She has been placed in this enchanted island by her mother, and has known all about the knight from the moment he stepped into the magic boat; she has not, however, the power of foretelling the future.

Two Kings meet Roboan, and present him to their Empress, who receives him then and there as her husband, and for a considerable time they live together in the utmost happiness, in a palace of untold magnificence.

One day, while hunting in the forest, the Emperor becomes separated from his companions, and is confronted by the Devil, in the guise of a beautiful woman, who, by the promise of the most wonderful mastiff in the world, makes him forget his vows of fidelity to the Empress. To get the mastiff he must ask the Empress for the key of the chamber in which it is confined.

That night he gets the dog without difficulty, and it becomes his constant companion in the hunt (chap. xxxiii).

Another day, he again meets in the forest the beautiful woman, who again causes his downfall by the promise of a very handsome falcon, which is also confined in a room whose key is in the Empress' possession.

When the woman leaves him, there appears a great boar which is immediately tackled by the mastiff. The Emperor dashes up to put an end to the beast, who wounds his horse in the foot, causing him to stumble and bring his rider to the ground. He is, however, unhurt and blows his horn for his companions who run up and kill the boar.

The Empress, who is unable to refuse Roboan anything he may ask for, gives him the falcon as readily as she had the mastiff, but not until she has warned

him to use judgement in his demands, lest he some day ask for what shall cause him to lose her forever (chaps. xxiii-xxxv).

After many days he again goes into the forest, where he is met as before by the demon. This time the price of his treason is a magnificent horse¹, swift as the wind. That night Roboan cannot sleep, torn between his longing for the horse, and his dislike to ask for it. The Empress, who knows of his infidelity, and who is afraid that he will end by asking for what will separate them forever, sets the seven *Holy Damsels*² at work making a banner for him to take with him when he shall be forced to leave her. On the second night, she skilfully turns his mind from the subject of the horse until he falls asleep; but a dream in which the animal figures wakes him up, and he asks for it at once. She gives him the key to the room, but on the condition that he do not open the door until the third day.

When on the third day he leads out the horse, she places in his hand the banner, which has the valuable property of enabling its owner to accomplish anything he may undertake (chap. xxxvi). When he has mounted, she tries to keep him back, saying she will invoke the winds and the God of the sea to impede his going by means of a storm, and the Goddess of love to soften his heart. Finally she asks him what name she shall give to the child she is to bear him. « Call him Afortunado » says Roboan.

The entreaties of the Empress have almost decided him to dismount, and he makes a move to do so, when suddenly the horse is off like the wind. At the postern he finds the magic boat which soon carries him back to Trigrida. Meantime he has leisure to realize his loss and to compare himself to *Aeneas*.

He is met by the Emperor of Trigrida who asks him to laugh if he can. He replies that he can easily kill anyone who shall insist upon it. Soon after this while walking in the palace gardens, the woman who had deceived them both, appears to them in a fountain, and begins to tumble in the water with such extravagant gestures that they both laugh in spite of themselves: « although » says the story, « Roboan did not have it in his heart to laugh very heartily. »

Soon after this the Emperor dies childless, and leaves the

1. Cifar, p. 325. « De tal natura era aquel caualllo que non comie nin beuie; ca este era el caualllo que gano Belmonte, fijo del rrey Trequinaldus a Vedora, quando se partio de su padre, segund se cuenta en la estoria de Belmonte : e tenie lo esta Enperatriz en su poder e asu mandar por encantamiento. »

2. Cifar, p. 344. « E asy era que aquellas syete donzellas que el pendon fizieron, bien auia cada vna dellas setenta años, ca en tiempo de su auuelo de la Enperatriz nacieron, e todas de vn vientre. »

empire to his friend (chap. xli). The new ruler's first care is to put down (with the help of the magic banner) a rebellion that had been stirred up against him by the same courtiers that had caused his banishment to the enchanted island.

When urged by his loyal subjects to take a wife, the Emperor remembers the Lady Seringa : and as all these adventures have taken less than a year, he sends her the Cauallero Amigo with a letter and the ring. She starts at once for Trigrida and the marriage is celebrated without delay. A visit which the Emperor and Empress make to the King of Menton is distinguished by miracles. The child that was the fruit of this happy union is called *Fijo de Bendición*, and his exploits are recorded in *Chaldean*¹.

In the adventures of Roboan we have a marked advance in the spirit of chivalry over that of the first book. We have seen Cifar leaving home because of his misfortunes, which compelled him to seek honor in exile. Roboan on the other hand, might pass his whole life in comfort and in idleness in his own home, but prefers to travel in order to *buscar consejo e a prouar las cosas del mundo* (p. 175, l. 20). Seringa is surprised that he should journey so far from his country, but he replies :

Non es lazerio ninguno al omen que anda por do quiere, ala su voluntad.

E commo ? dixo la Ynfante, por vuestro talante venistes vos aqui aesta tierra, e non por cosas que ouiesedes menester nin de rrecabdar ?

Por mio talante, dixo el Ynfante Roboan, vine yo aesta tierra, e rrecabdare lo que Dios quisier e non al².

This is the credo of the knight-errant. The author lays emphasis upon his elegance, his skill in all manly sports, his prowess in battle, and his considerate treatment of the unfortun-

1. Cifar. p. 354. « Ouo nonbre Fijo de Bendición, asy commo ya oystes, de que dizen que ay fecho vn libro en Caldeo, en que cuenta su vida, e muchos buenos fechos que fizo.

2. Page 264, line 32.

nate. All these qualities later become the stock in trade of the numberless heroes of the *Libros de Caballerias*.

The story of Roboan and Seringa is very well told, and enlivened by a wordy battle between the hero and Gallarda, a somewhat forward Lady-in-waiting; but it is far from offering the interest of the episode of the Enchanted Island, which undoubtedly has its origin in one or more of the legends known as the *matière de Bretagne*. The evidence for this relation is of two kinds.

A. We have two direct references to important personages of these legends to prove that they were known to our author.

1. In the first book (p. 151) when the Ribaldo comes back wounded from the battle with Count Nason, the King of Menton says :

« Cauallero Amigo, creo que fallastes quien vos tresquilase. »

« Señor, dixo el Cauallero Amigo, fallamos; ca non se vido el rrey ARTUR en mayor priesa conel GATO PAUS, que nos vimos nos otros con aquellos mal-ditos. »

The combat between Arthur and the giant cat of the Lake of Geneva is described at length in the English prose *Merlin* (chap. xxxiii of the ed. of the Early Eng. Text Soc.).

This animal, which also appears in the German romance *Manuel und Amande* may or may not be identical with the multiform *Capalu* or *Chapalu* which is mentioned in several French poems of the 13th century¹, notably the *Bataille Loquifer*; but Mr. Nutt shows that the *Chapalu* must be the Welsh *Cath Palug*, the Chimaera-like monster of the Black Book of Carmarthen, a text of the 12th century².

In the Black Book, the hero of the combat is Kay. Our re-

1. English *Merlin*, vol. I, p. ccxxxv ff.

2. *Folk-Lore*, vol. I, p. 251 ff. Since writing the above my attention has been called to Freymond's monograph, *Artus' Kampf mit dem Katzenungefüm*, Halle, 1899.

ference points to a later version of the episode, in which, as in the *Loquifer*, Arthur is made the hero, but which is earlier than the *Loquifer* in that the proper name *Palug* is preserved in the form *Paus*.

2. While the maidens are conducting Roboan to their mistress, the following dialogue takes place (p. 314, l. 35 ff.)

Señoras, dixo el Infante, e quien fue su madre desta enperadriz ?

Señor, dixieron ellas, LA SEÑORA DEL PARESÇER, que fue a saluar e aguardar del peligro muy grande a DON YUAN, fijo del rrey ORIAN, segund se cuenta en la su estoria, quando DON YUAN dixo ala rreyna GINEBRA que el auie por señora vna dueña mas fermosa que ella : e ouose de parar ala pena que el fuero de la nuestra tierra manda, sy non lo prouase, segund era costumbre del rreyno.

E quien fue su padre ? dixo el Ynfante.

Señor, dixieron ellas, DON YUAN fue casado conella, segund podredes saber por el libro de la su estoria, sy quisierdes leer por el.

Señoras, dixo el Infante, esta vuestra señora fue nunca casada ?

Sy fue, dixieron ellas, con vn Enperador quela perdio por su desauentura e por su mal rrecabdo, delo que vos auedes de guardar, que la non perdades por mal consejo que ninguno vos de.

E el Infante les pregunto : Commo ha nonbre esta vuestra Señora ?

Señor, dixieron ellas, NOBLEZA ¹.

Baist referring to this passage says ² : « Der Verfasser kennt auch der *Lanval*-lai unter dem Namen *Ivains*. » However, the passage might be taken as referring equally well to either the *Lanval*

1. Cifar, p. 315. « E la donzella lleuaua el libro dela estoria de Don Yuan, e començo a leer en el; e la donzella leye muy bien e muy apuesta mente, e muy ordenada mente de guissa que entendie el Infanta muy bien todo lo que ella leye, e tomaua enello muy grand plazer e grand solaz; ca çierta mente, non ha omen que oye la estoria de Don Yuan que non rresçiba ende muy grand plazer por las palabras muy buenas que en el dize, e todo omen que quisiere auer solaz e plazer, e auer buenas costumbres, deue leer el libro de la estoria de Don Yuan. »

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 439.

of Marie de France ¹, or to the anonymous *Graelent* ², as it is a very clear exposition of the central idea of both these poems. There is always a possibility that the story known to our author was a third version of the same theme; but it is not probable that its hero was named *Yvain*. It is easier to believe that the author has simply confused the heroes of two stories with which he was familiar, both being knights at the court of King Arthur. It is to be noted that in *Lanval* Queen Guinevere's name is not mentioned.

Our text makes *Don Yuan* the son of *Orian* in agreement with the *Vita Merlini* of Gaufrei de Monmouth (XI. 1, *Eventus* son of *Urianus*), and the *Merlin-Huth* ³.

B. Further evidence as to the origin of our story is that furnished by a comparison of its various episodes with similar ones from certain legends of the Breton cycle.

1. A magic boat plays an important rôle in Marie de France's *Guigemer* ⁴. Guigemer is a knight of Hoilas, King of Brittany. While hunting in the forest, he becomes separated from his companions by following a white hind, which he wounds in the foot. The arrow rebounds and strikes him in the thigh, causing him to sink from his horse. The hind tells him the wound will not heal until he finds a lady who shall love him, and whose love he shall return. Sadly he wanders through the wood, and comes to an unknown shore, and finds in waiting an empty boat. He lies down in it to rest, and wakes up on the high sea. Before night he comes to a town where he meets the lady destined for him who cures his wound. After an

1. Ed. Warnke, pp. 86-112.

2. Ed. Barbazan-Méon, *Fabliaux et Contes*, Paris 1808, IV, 157: and G. Gullberg, *Deux lais du XII^e siècle*, Kalmar 1876. Analysis in Warnke, p. cx ff.

3. *Zeitschr. für rom. Phil.*, 1900, p. 445.

4. Ed. Warnke, pp. 5-40

adventure which is quite different from anything in the Cifar, he returns in the same boat to his own country.

The hero of *Parthenopex de Blois* in similar wise finds on the shore an empty boat which carries him to *Melior*. Köhler has called attention to the fact that in the *Parthenopex*, the boat is sent by the enchantress *Melior* herself¹. We have seen that in our story, the damsels tell Roboan that their mistress knew all about him from the moment he entered the boat.

2. The two maidens that meet Roboan at the postern recall the two beautiful damsels that are sent to the sleeping *Lanval* by the fairy (v. 53 ff.).

3. Roboan's downfall is caused by his meeting in the forest a demon disguised as a beautiful woman, who plainly represents the malignant fairy or enchantress of the Celtic tales.

The encounter with the wild boar resembles closely the encounter between *Guigemer* and the hind narrated above; but it is introduced here without an object, and without contributing to the plot of the story.

In *Guingamor* (*Romania* VII, 53) we find a boar with a purpose. Guinevere (v. 158 ff.) stirs up Guingamor to hunt the *blans pors* that has already caused the loss of ten of her knights. Following the boar he comes into the precinct of a fairy. According to M. Lot (*Romania* XXIX, 23), the pursuit of a boar of demoniacal nature is one of the oldest episodes of the Arthurian legend, and dates from the 8th century. Such an animal, the *Tyrd Tryth* (*Rom.* XXV, 590), takes Arthur and his companions across Britain into Ireland. In the *Mabinogi* of *Manawyddan*, a dazzling white boar entices Pryderi into an enchanted castle (*Rom.* XXX, 14). M. Lot concludes that the rôle of the white boar is to lure the knight into the abode of the fairy. This is plainly the business of the « white hind » of *Graelent*

1. For this and other instances of a magic boat, see Warnke, p. LXXIX ff.

(Warnke CXI), pursuing which the hero comes upon a beautiful fairy bathing in a spring ¹. The significance of the boar episode was apparently not understood by our author.

4. In many legends whose theme is the love of a fairy for a mortal, the fairy promises to grant the mortal's every wish, providing a certain injunction is complied with. In our story, *Nobleza is unable to refuse Roboan anything he may ask*, and the command is implied in a warning.

In *Lanval* the fairy grants her lover's every wish; but he must never betray their love or he will lose her for ever (v. 135-150).

The fairy promises *Graelent* to make him rich, and to come to him whenever he may wish, on the condition that he do not say anything that may lead to the discovery of their relations (v. 303 ff., Warnke, p. cxi).

In the Italian story of *Liombruno* ², Galvano has won the love of a fairy who gives him a ring that has the power of granting all his desires, and of bringing her to him when he wishes; but there is the accompanying command not to betray the secret of their amours.

In the *Ultramar* the Caballero del Cisne (identical with the French Chevalier au Cygne, a personage intimately related to the *matière de Bretagne*) forbids his wife Beatrix to question him as to his identity.

In all these cases disobedience is followed by disaster.

5. A horse with magic properties is as common in European folk-lore as in oriental tales ³. Sometimes the horse appears in connection with a special injunction.

1. The adventures of many a mediaeval hero begin in the pursuit of a stag. Cf. the youth in the swan-maiden story of the *Dolopathos* of Joh. de Alta Silva, and his pursuit of the « *cervum nive candidiorem*. » (Ed. Oersterley, Strassburg, 1873, p. 73 ff.).

2. Warnke, p. cxv.

3. See E. Cosquin, *Contes populaires lorrains*, no 12, in *Romania*, VII, p. 212 ff.

In one of the tales collected by M. Cosquin, a magic horse is shut in a chamber which it is forbidden to enter.

Köhler has compared several stories in which there figures a horse from which it is forbidden to dismount on pain of death ¹.

More closely resembling our text is the story of the *Second Saalouk* in the *Arabian Nights* (trans. Mardrus, I, 191). The Saalouk is left in charge of a palace which contains all that heart can desire. He may do as he likes in all things but one. He must not open a certain door. His curiosity getting the better of him he opens the door and finds a splendid horse which he leads out and mounts. As soon as he shakes the reins the horse is off through the air at an incredible rate of speed.

6. The whole scene of the separation of the lovers, with Nobleza's mention of her condition, her appeal to Venus and to the God of the sea — despite the fact that a horse and not a ship is to separate them — is a confused reminiscence of the story of Dido and Aeneas : as is made clear by the language of Roboan when he realizes that he has lost his mistress forever ².

Perdido soy aqui do yago asy commo Eneas en Cartago quando dexo ala rreyna de quien non fue despedido (p. 330).

When the Caballero del Cisne is forced to leave Beatriz through her indiscretion, she tries to restrain him by appealing to his fatherly love (chap. cxxix, Book I).

Tomo otra vez á su fija Ida en los brazos, é vino al caballero del Cisne, que queria ir cabalgar para irse, é dijole : « Qué será de vuestra fija Ida, que finca tan pequeña?... ca desque vos fuérdes, no habrá quien la honre ni la guarde. »

1. *Kl. Schriften*, II, 406 ff.

2. There is an interesting account of the Aeneas-Dido story in the *Castigos* (chap. xcii, p. 167), in which the fall of Troy is made the result of Aeneas' treachery.

This scene is not without its parallel in the French *lais*. In *Doon*¹ occurs the following passage :

- v. 163 Quant espousée ot la pucele,
Trois jors tin cort et grant et bele ;
Au quart s'est par matin levez,
Son cheval li est amenez,
Sa fame a a Dieu commandée,
Qu'aler s'en velt en sa contrée.
La dame pleure et grant duel fet
170 De ce que ses amis s'en vet :
Merci li crie doucement,
Mes ce ne li valut noient ;
De remanoir merci li crie,
Et bien li dit qu'il l'a traie ;
175 Il ne la volt de rien oir,
Car tart li est du departir :
« Dame », fet il, « je m'en irai ;
Ne sai se mes vos troverai.
Vos estes ençainte de moi,
180 Un filz avrez, si con je croi :
Mon anel d'or li garderoiz :
Quant il ert granz si li donroiz.
Bien li commandez a garder,
Par l'anel me porra trover.

Here the scene has its dramatic value, as father and son are to meet again. In the *Cifar* it is an excrescence.

7. The demon (fairy) tumbling in the water for the amusement of Roboan and the Emperor, is none other than the fée who is found by *Graelent* bathing in the spring, and who becomes his friend (Warnke, p. cx1).

The following passage is from *Guingamor*.

- v. 418 Li pors s'en est outre passez,
Et Guingamors après se met,
Semont et hue le brachet :

1. Ed. G. Paris, in *Romania*, VIII. 59 ff.

Enz el chief de la lande entra ;
 Une fontaine illec trova
 Desoz un olivier foillu
 424 Vert et flori et bien branchu :
 La fontaigne ert clere et bele,
 D'ort et d'argent ert la gravele ;
 Une pucele s'i baingnoit,
 Et une autre son chief pingnoit
 429 Et li lavoit et piez et mains :
 Biaux membres ot et lons et plains :

Here the fountain scene and the boar-hunt go together. Obviously this is the logical arrangement : and it is not easy to see why our author has departed from it, unless some obscurity already existed in his source.

8. The name given to the Cifar to the country which is the home of Nobleza, is *Yslas Dotadas* (p. 329.10). These « blessed isles » might well represent the land of eternal youth of the Irish legends. Gaufrei de Monmouth speaks of the « *Insula pomarum quae Fortunata vocatur* » (Lot, *Romania*, XXX, 321).

The tradition survives in *Graelent*¹. In the Cifar the tradition exists only in the name, and the islands are located in the extreme Orient, which is the scene of all of Roboan's adventures.

From the above comparisons it is evident that nearly all of the elements of the Roboan-Nobleza story are to be found in French texts of the *matière de Bretagne*, and that our author was familiar with other episodes of the same cycle. It is probable that his source was a ms. containing several French *romans* or *lais*.

There exist in collections of folk-tales and among the Celtic legends as well, stories of Kings (or Princesses) who never laugh; but in those known to me, the motive for refraining from

1. Köhler, *Kl. Schriften*, II, 428 ff.

laughter, which is, it seems to me, the test point, is quite unlike that of the Emperor of Trigrida ¹.

Baist identifies our tale with the lost French lai of *Tristan qui onques ne risi* ². In the absence of proof that our story incorporates the earlier lai, two hypotheses are possible. 1) The author has taken episodes from several legends and combined them in his own way to make a new story; or, 2) the skeleton of his story represents a tale which already existed in independent form, and which he has imitated more or less freely. I incline to the latter view for the following reasons.

a) It is to be doubted whether our author could have constructed, by joining together detached episodes, a tale which imitates so closely the spirit and general character of a French lai.

b) We have seen that the boar episode is not made to contribute to the plot. I can account for this only by the assumption that our author has failed to grasp its significance in a tale in which it obviously must have played an important rôle.

An early form of the story might run something as follows.

A King (of Brittany) is never known to laugh, and puts to death anyone who asks him the reason. One day his favorite courtier puts the question to him, and is spared on account of their intimacy; but he is conducted to the sea-shore and told to enter a magic boat that takes him to the « fortunate isles » where he is loved by a fairy Queen.

He has all that heart can desire on the condition that he do not disobey a certain command.

All goes well until one day, in the forest, the pursuit of a « white boar » leads him into the presence of a second fairy, hostile to the first, who contrives to make him disobey the command.

As his punishment, he is separated forever from his mistress, and his grief is so great that, like his King, he never laughs again.

1. For these tales, cf. Köhler, *Kl. Schr.*, II, 565; *Revista Contemp.*, 1869, p. 411, n° 26; Crane, *Italian Popular Tales*, n° XXXI; Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 125; Montanus, *Schwankbücher*, ed. Bolte, Tübingen, 1899, p. 569.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 439.

THE RIBALDO AND PROVERBIAL PHILOSOPHY

Despite the Cifar's evident lack of homogeneity, there is running through it, in the personality of the Ribaldo, a thread which binds its parts in a sort of unity. The character of the Ribaldo is more consistently drawn than that of either Cifar or Roboan. He is a logical human being, and bears the marks of an original creation in Spanish literature.

At the outset he is presented as a *picaro* with an unwholesome reputation, shrewd, unscrupulous and malicious ¹.

In the fisher's hut there was a Ribaldo, who when his day's work was done, was wont to come to the hermitage to pass the time of day with the hermit. The day that the knight Cifar arrived, the Ribaldo came and asked him who his guest was. The hermit replied that he was a knight-errant. « Indeed », said the Ribaldo, « methinks it is some unfortunate and feckless knight : and I intend to go and tell him certain hard and bitter things : and I shall see whether he be moved to anger, and how he will answer me ».

« Go thy way foolish Ribaldo! » says the hermit. « Dost thou think to babble with all as thou babblest with me, who suffer in patience all thou sayest? ² »

After the knight has decided to take the Ribaldo with him as his page, the hermit warns him to beware of his companion ; but the Ribaldo belies from the first the bad reputation the hermit has given him, and shows himself unswervingly loyal to his master. He is more practical than his Lord and full of resources, and on one occasion saves the knight's life. It is he who finds a way to keep off the wolves at night, and who solves the problem of entering the beleaguered city.

1. The most famous early portrayal of this type is Juan Ruiz's description of his page, Don Huron, who was an excellent servant excepting for fourteen faults, and who was so religious that he fasted whenever he could get nothing to eat.

2. Bk. I, chap. LII.

With all this he is simple enough to take unhesitatingly the purse given him by a thief to hold ¹. He is not over scrupulous about robbing a turnip-patch when his Lord needs a good meal ²: but after all, his most *picaresque* quality is the happy faculty of seeing the humorous side of everything. This trait is well brought out in his adventure with Gamel ³.

At the time of the rebellion of Count Nason, the Ribaldo had set out alone by night to spy upon the enemy's camp. On his way back he had an encounter with Gamel, a stray member of one of the enemy's foraging parties, and left him wounded on the ground. Later he returns to the spot with the rest of his company, and one of his men asks the wounded knight how many there are in his party. The knight replies: « A hundred and fifty ». « Less one! » says the Ribaldo.

Another agreeable trait, that clings to him even after he has become the respected « Cauallero Amigo », counsellor of the King, is his fondness for the use of proverbs. This habit, which he possesses in common with Sancho Panza, makes inevitable the comparison of the two characters. Both are of the humblest origin, and elected to serve the most serious of knights-errant. Both possess the same combination of simplicity, shrewdness and good-nature: and each has his fund of proverbial philosophy.

This parallel is hardly a sufficient basis for the assumption that the *Quixote* owes one of its greatest charms to the humble *escudero* of the Cifar; but it is certain that Cervantes knew of more romances of chivalry than those sacrificed in the Curate's holocaust. If by some chance he was familiar with the obscure work which survived only one edition, and that nearly a century before he wrote his immortal work, the literary influence of the Cifar is incalculable.

1. Bk. I, chaps. LIX and LX.

2. Bk. I, chap. LXII.

3. Bk. I, chap. xcviii.

Of the numerous proverbial phrases that occur in our text, I have thought it worth while to collect such as appear, from their form, to represent the oral rather than the literary tradition ¹. A few of these come into the Cifar from the *Flores de Filosofia*; but the majority make their first literary appearance in the Cifar. Not by any means all of them are put in the mouth of the Ribaldo: the other characters, including the Knight himself, are not quite free from the infection. Some are introduced into the didactic passages by way of illustration: and not a few are introduced by the formula: *commo dize el prouerbio antiguo*.

When possible, I have compared with these proverbs similar

1. This chapter was written in Spain, and it was not until after my return that I found that Professor Cornu had already included most of these proverbs in his collection, *Zweihundert altspanische Sprichwörter* (in *Festschrift zum VIII Neuphil.*, 1898, p. 194 ff.).

Professor Cornu has taken from the Cifar the following proverbs that are not in my list. Non lo quiera Dios que lazren los justos por los pecadores (p. 119). — A las vegadas mas vale arte que ventura (p. 246). — Aquel es guiado a quien Dios quiere guiar (p. 260). — Con derecho te dizen fortuna porque nunca eres una (p. 329). — De los escarmentados salen los arte[ro]s (p. 181). — Do justicia non ay, todo mal ay (p. 259). — El que en malas obras suele andar, non se puede dellas quitar (p. 346). — El que te ama, pagando te desama (p. 328). — La ventura ayuda aquellos que toman osadia (p. 83). — Mala fabla non publicada, tanto vale como la buena non loada (p. 227). — Mas vale ser bueno amidos que malo de grado (p. 123). — Mejor es tardar que non repentirse el ombre por se rebatar (p. 190). — Non es amigo nin pariente el que del daño de sus parientes e de sus amigos non se siente (p. 238). — Non nasca quien non medre (p. 174). — Que la natura niega, ninguno non lo deve acometer (p. 83). — Quien grand fecho quiere començar, mucho deve en ello pensar (p. 190). — Quien mucho ha de andar, mucho ha de provar (p. 97). — Quien poco sseso tiene, ayna lo despiende (p. 57). — Quien una vegada non se escarmienta, muchas vegadas se arrepiente (p. 129).

On the other hand there are missing from Prof. Cornu's list my nos 2, 5, 15, 17, 19, 28, 29, 31, 38, 53, 58, 60, 61, and 62. The use of the mss. has enabled me to give better readings for some of the proverbs (no 23, *padas* not *pidas*; no 7. Quando vno non quiere, etc.). I have followed the orthography of the Paris ms.

ones taken from other early Spanish texts : and to these I have adduced a few parallels from the other Romance languages ¹.

1. Quien ADELANTE non cata, atras se cae (p. 233, — se falla, p. 330).

Who looks not ahead, falls backward.

The second form is found in *S*; *C*, p. 337; *N*, p. 100. Other forms are : Quien noncata lo de adelante, atrás se cae (*Castigos*, p. 119). — Mira adelante, no caeras atras. *N*, p. 72. — El que adelante no mira, atras se halla. *V*, p. 70. — Quien adelante no pensa, atrás se topa. *Jud.*, 913.

Port. Quem adiante não olha, atraz fica.

OPr. Qui avan non garda, areyre cai (no. 182).

2. Los que comen el AGRAZ, con dentera quedan (p. 225).

Those who eat sour grapes have their teeth set on edge.

The figurative use of this proverb is illustrated in another passage of the *Cifar* (p. 228). « Sus abuelos (i. e. los Judios) comieron el agraz de la false-dat, e enellos finco la dentera contra los sieruos de Ihesu Christo. » In the Bible it is used by Solomon, and is found in Jeremiah xxxi, 29-31. « In diebus illis, non dicent ultra : patres comederunt uvam acerbam, et dentes filiorum obstupuerunt. Sed unusquisque in iniquitate sua morietur : omnis homo qui comederit uvam acerbam, obstupescant dentes ejus. » Cf. also Juan Ruiz, st. 907, « . . de vn grano de agraz se faze mucha dentera ». The Spanish peasants to-day eat green grapes to preserve their teeth.

3. En las oras de la cuyta se prueuan los AMIGOS (p. 23).

A friend in need is a friend indeed.

El amigo en tiempo de necesidad se conosce, and En el peligro se conoce el amigo. *C*.—E preguntaronle : « Quando conosce omne a sus amigos ? » E dixo : « Conoscelos en las cuytas, ca en el vicio cada vno es amigo. » *Bocados de Oro*, p. 153.

Lat. Amicum an nomen habeas, aperit calamitas (*Sy*).

Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur (*Otto*, 92).

1. I have preferred to give, when possible, an English equivalent for the Spanish proverb rather than a translation.

For full titles of works quoted and other abbreviations, see Appendix B.

OFr. Au besoing voit on qui amis est (*Vil.* 72).

Al besuin est truvez l'amis e espruvez (*Bartsch*, p. 70).

Tus. Amico certo si conosce ai bisogni.

Ven. I amici se cognosse nell' incerto (*Prov. Ven.* I, 44).

Port. O bom amigo não fallece na coyta (*Braga, op. cit.* II, 37).

Nos trabalhos se vem os amigos.

Lim. A la necessitat l'an counes sous amigs (p. 541, 5).

Prov. Als hops conoys hom tota via son bon amic (*Cny*, 89).

4. Quien a buen ARBOL se arrima, buena sombra lo cobre (p. 97).

A good shade covers him who leans against a good tree.

The more common form is : . . buena sombra le cobija, which occurs twice in the Quixote (Bk. I Versos de Urganda; Bk. II chap. 32; Burke 24). It is the form found in the collections (*N* 101, *C* 337) and in use to-day. Cf. A buen arbol me he arrimado, and A buena puerta me ha cogido la hambre (*C* 3).

OPr. Bona fi fai qui ab bon arbre s lia (*Cny*, 148).

5. Quien la BARAJA puede escusar, bien barata en fuyr della (p. 285).

Discretion is the better part of valor (*Hazlitt*).

6. Quando se BARAJAN los ladrones, se descubren los furtos (p. 153).

Thieves falling out, true men come to their goods (*H*).

Riñen los ladrones y descubrense los hurtos *S*, *N*, *C*. — Cf. Riñen las comadres, descubrense las poridades *C*, p. 301.

Nimium altercando, veritas amittitur (*Sy*).

Port. Peleijão os ladrões, descobrem-se os furtos.

Peleijão as Comadres, descobrem-se as verdades.

7. Quando vno [non] quiere, dos non BARAJAN (p. 200, *Fl.*, *S*).

It takes two to make a quarrel.

The form with « non » is given by *C*, p. 372, *N*, p. 93, and the *Libro de Enxemplos*, chap. CLXXX, where it is used as a chapter heading as follows.

Lis cessat vno cedente.

Entre dos, todo homne lo entienda,

Si vno no quiere, no hay contienda.

Port. Quando hum não quer, dous não batalhão.

Cat. Quand un no vol, dos no s'barallan.

8. Non ay BIEN syn lazerio, nin datil syn hueso (p. 203, *Fl.* Ley XIX).

No joy without annoy, — and He that would have the fruit must climb the tree (*H*).

Cf. El que quiere folgar/ha de lasrar primero. *ST*, 140. — La pas non se alcança/syno con guerra,/nin se gana folgança/sy non con bien lasrar. *ST*, 111.

Nil non prius acerbum, quam maturum fuit (*Sy*).

Fr. Nul pan sans peyne (*LeR*, II, 358).

Nul vin sans lie (*LeR*, II, 273).

9. Quien BIEN se see, non se lieue (p. 33).

Let him not get up, who is well off sitting.

Cf. no. 10. The *Conde Lucanor* has (p. 28): Quien bien se siede, non se lieue. — Maria, si bien estas, no te mudaras. *N*, p. 69 — Quien bien esta, no se mueve. *C*, p. 339.

OFr. Qui bien est, ne se mueve (*Vil*, 253).

Port. Quem bem está, não se levante.

Lim. Quau es ben, ne boge (p. 557, no. 19).

10. El que BIEN see, non ha porque se lieue (p. 32).

Cf. no 9.

11. El CAN con grand congosto al su señor se torna al rostro (p. 238).

The mad dog bites his master (*H*).

This proverb occurs in a variety of forms. — El can con agosto (read *angosto*) asu dueño vuelve el rostro. *V*, 32. — El can con gosto (r. *angosto*) a su dueño se torna al rostro. *N*, 40. — El can con ravia á su dueño muerde. *S*. — El can con rabia de su dueño traua. *N*, *V* 17, *C* 110. — Por que suelen dezir que el can con grand angosto/E con rraua de la muerte, asu dueño traua al rostro. *JR*, 1704.

Port. O cão con raiva, de seu dono traua.

12. A CANPO malo que ay, le viene su año (p. 92).

Every dog has his day.

13. Tanto va el CANTARO a la fuente fasta que dexa alla el asa o la fuente (p. 285).

So long goes the pot to the water, till at last it comes home broken (*H*).

Cantaro (cantarillo) que muchas vezes va a la fuente, ó dexa el asa ó la frente. *S*, *N* 20, *V* 17, *C* 65. — Tantas veces va el cantarillo. . . . *Quixote*, I, 30, *Burke*, 67. — Tanto va el cantarico a la fuente, hasta que se rompe. *Jud*, 1182. — Cf. Tanto quiso la vieja hilar, que no se pudo leuantar. *N* 113.

Saeplus offendens, aliquando laedit pedem.

O*Fr*. Tant va pot al eve, que brise (*Renart*, v. 13, 650).

Tant va li poz a l'aigue qu'il brise le col (*Vil*, 216, 231).

O*Pr*. Tant vai lo dorcx a l'aigua/tro que l'ansa lay rema (*Per* 5, *Cny* 679).

Ital. Va tanto la rana al pozzo, che la ci lassa la pelle.

Cat. Tantas vegadas va l'canti á la font, que s' romp (*Sb*, IX, 171).

Lim. A suciu que lou broc vai á la font, la charbe lai demora (p. 255, nº 20).

14. De CHICA çentella se leuanta grand fuego (p. 107).

Alas vegadas pequeño can suele enbargar muy grand venado, e muy pequeña cosa alça alas vegadas a la grande e la faze caer (p. 107).

Great oaks from little acorns grow.

De pequeña centella, gran hoguera. *N* 28. — De grandes huegos, chicos los graneros. *N* 30. — E a vezes pequeña fabla bien dicha, e chica ruego, / Obra mucho en los fechos, a vezes rrecabda luego; / E de chica çentella nasce grand llama de fuego, / E vienen grandes peleas a vezes de chico juego. *JR* 734.

Parva scintilla contempta saepe magnum excitavit incendium (*Otto*, 1605).

O*Fr*. Petite estincelle engendre grant feu (*LeR*, I, 71).

Petit homme abat grand chêne (*LeR*, I, 62).

Petite parole esmuet grant brait (*Vil*, 31).

Port. De pequena bostella, se levanta grão mazella.

15. COGER del vid figos, e delas espinas vuas (p. 201).

To gather figs from the vine and grapes from thorns.

Cf. nos 17, 27, and 28. St. Matthew says : Nunquid colligunt de spinis uvas, aut de tribulis ficos ? Chap. 7, v. 16. — The commoner Spanish equiva-

lent is : Pedir peras al olmo. *C*, 313, *Quixote*, I, 32, II, 40, 52; *Burke*, 308. — A fuller form : Non pidas al olmo la pera, pues no la lleua. *N*, 80, *C*, 313. — Pedir cereças al cardo. *C*.

Pirum, non ulmum, accedas, si cupias pira (*Sy*).

Port. Não busques figo na ameixeira.

16) El buen CONORTE vençe ala mala ventura (p. 332).

Good counsel conquers ill fortune.

Cf. Buen esfuerço vençe ala mala ventura. *Castigos*, p. 161. — ... buen esfuerço, etc. *JR*, 160. — Buen corazon quebranta mala ventura. *Quix.* II, 35, *Burke*, 351. — quiebra, *V*, 15.

Port. Bom coração quebraria má ventura.

17) El pozal non DA, synon lo que falla (p. 210).

The bucket can bring up only what it finds.

Cf. nos 1, 5, 27, and 28.

Fr. On ne tire du sac que ce qu'il y a.

Cat. D'ahont no n'hi ha, non pot rajá.

Lim. La pus jolha filha pot mas dounar so que a (p. 544).

Frib. no 284.

18) Quien non DA lo que vale, non toma lo que desea (p. 288)

He who does not pay what it is worth, does not get what he wants.

Cf. Quien no da lo que duele no ha lo que quiere, *C* 351.

OPr. Qe uol non pren, qi non dona que dol (*Cny* 187).

Fr. Il faut payer, qui veut acheter.

OFR. Qui ne done que aime, ne prent que desire (*Vil*, 124).

19) Del DEZIR al fazer, mucho ay (p. 140).

Mas de ligero se DIZEN las cosas que non se fazen (p. 44).

Easier said than done.

The modern form is that given by Cervantes : Del dicho al hecho hay gran trecho. *Quixote*, II chaps. 34 and 64.

Nihil est dictu facilius. (*Otto* 527).

Fr. Il est plus facile dire que faire (*LeR*, II 308).

Dire et faire sont deux (*LeR* II, 127).

Ven. Del dito al fato, passa vn gran trato (*Prov. Ven.*, II, 28).

20) Qual palabra te DIZEN, tal coraçon te fazen (p. 334)

Such as their words are is the will they bear you.

.. te meten. *JR* 95. Quales palabras te dicen, tal coraçon te ponen. *C* 330.

Talis hominum oratio, qualis vita (*Otto* 1299).

Port. Quaes palavras te dizem, tal coração te fazem.

21) Quien con perros se ECHA, con pulgas se leuanta (p. 231).

He that lieth with dogs, riseth with fleas (*H*).

The same in *N* 99 and *Jud.* 937. Cf. *Jud.* 935, 938, 1061. Quien con muchachos se echa, cagado se leuanta. *N* 102.

Fr. Qui se couche avec les chiens, il se lève avec les puces (*LeR*, I, 170).

It. Chi con can dorme, con pulce si leva.

22) Quien mucho ESCUCHA, de su dapno oye (p. 309).

Listeners hear no good of themselves. Cf. He who peeps through a hole may see what will vex him (*H*).

The modern concise form is : Quien escucha, su mal oye.

Cat. Qui escolta per los forats, ou sos mals fats.

23) Nin bueno FAGAS, nin malo padas (p. 237)

He'll neither do right nor suffer wrong (*H*).

24) FAZ bien, e non cates a quien (p. 235 and p. 242).

Do good, and mind not to whom.

Occurs in *Flores Ley XXI, Castigos*, p. 167. *C* 166, *N* 51. — Haz bien, y no mires a quien. This form, which is given by the Marquis of Santillana, is the title of a Comedia. (*Osuna cat.*, nº 638). — *V* gives a fuller form : Haz bien y no cates a quien : haz mal y guarde. — Haz bien y no mires con quien. *Jud.* 475.

Port. Faze bem : não cates a quem.

Cat. La almonya cuant la farás, no mirás á qui la fas (*Sb IX*, 27).

25) Quien tal FAZE, tal prenda (p. 94)

Cf. nº 56. Quien tal fizo, tal aya. *JR* 1126.

OFr. Qui fait as, si pren (*LeR* II, 259).

OPr. Qui mal fait mal pren. (*Cny* 107)

26) FALAGAR conel pan e conel palo (p. 338)

To comb one's head with a joint stool (*H*).

27) El FUEGO non esfria (p. 210).

Fire does not freeze.

Cf. nos 15, 17, and 28.

OFr. Nul feu froit : le soleil n'est obscur (*LeR* I, 71).

28) El que non HA, non da (p. 210).

Where nothing is, nothing is to be had (*H*).

Cf. nos 15, 17, and 27. Mal da quien no ha. *N* 69.

29) Do fuyra el que al HUERCO deue (p. 97).

Huerco may mean *death*, the *Devil*, or, in this particular passage, the *gallows*.

Morti debetur, quicquid usquam nascitur (*Sy*).

Sp. La horca, lo suyo lleua. *N* 58.

Fr. Contre la mort, n'y a point appel (*LeR* II, 277).

Port. Contra a morte não ha remedio.

A forca nunca perde o seu.

Eng. When every one gets his own, you'll get the gallows (*H*).

30) Quien de LOCURA enferma, tarde sana della (p. 234, *Fl.*
Ley XXXI).

He who is born a fool is never cured (*H*).

The same proverb occurs in another passage without *della* (p. 138) as in *S*.
— Quien de locura enfermó, tarde sanó. *N* 101, *C* 343. — Quien enferma de
locura, o sana tarde o nunca. *N* 103, *C* 343.

OFr. Qui fol naquit, jamais ne garit (*LeR* I, 244).

OPr. Totz temps fols a folia cor (*Cny* 550).

Port. Quem de doudice enfermou, nunca o tarde sanou.

It. Ocus bocus quinquere, que chi nasce matto, non guarisse mai (*Roma*
1536).

31) El que non LUCHA, non cae (p. 145).

He who fights not, falls not.

Cf. n° 5. — A contrary sense is expressed by the OFr proverb : Cil n'abat pas, qui ne lutte (*Renart*, v. 21, 244).

32) El MAL de muchos, alegría es (p. 332).

Misery loves company ; or Trouble shared is halved : joy shared is doubled.

Calamitatum habere socios, miseris est solatio (*Sy*).

Port. Mal de muitos gozo he.

33) Sy de MALA parte viene la oveja, allá se va la pelleja (p. 121).

De mal vino la oveja, allá va la pelleja. *S*, *N* 29. — De do viene la liebre, allá remeda la pelle. *N* 29. — De mal justo vino el consejo, y los diablos lleuaron el pellejo. *V* 23.

It. De mal vien el lopo, de pezzo va la pelle (*Roma*).

34) La yerua MALA ayna creçe (p. 168).

Ill weeds grow fast (*H*).

La mala yerua presto creçe. *C* 189. — Yerua mala presto nace (ó cresçe). *V* 37.

Mala herba cito crescit.

OFr. Mauvaise herbe croist soudain (*LeRI*, 77).

Male erbe croist assez. (*Vil* 125)

35) Dello e dello, ca todas les MANÇANAS non son dulces (p. 93).

A combination of two locutions in one. « *Dello con dello* expr. fam. con que se significa la mezcla de cosas opuestas entre sí. » *Dicc. de la Acad.*, 13th ed. — Cf. n° 8. — Sy las mançanas sienpre oviesen tal sabor / de dentro, qual de fuera dan visto e color, / Non avrie delas plantas fructa de tal valor. *JR* 163.

36) Tal arma la MANGANILLA, que cae en ella de golilla (p. 271)

Subtility set a trap, and caught itself (*H*).

Cf. n° 42.

Fr. Que le malin que tend le piège dervant,

En voulant prendre autrui, se prent le plus souvent (*LeR* II, 379).

Mais tex gabe à le fors autrui,
 Qui li gaboïs revient soûs lui. (*LeR* II, 420).
 Port. Quem o laço me armou, nelle cahio.

37) Quien se MUDA, Dios le ayuda (p. 32), *N* 104, *C* 357.
 God helps him who helps himself.

Quien se ayuda, Dios le ayuda (*Castigos*, p. 135). — Quien anda, el Dio le manda *Jud* 920.

Port. Muda-te, muda-se-te-ha a fortuna.

Cat. A qui s'muda, Deu l'ajuda (*Sb* IX, 22).

It. Aidate ti, che ti aidaro anche mi, dice Domenedio (*Roma*).

38) Mas vale buena MUERTE que vida desonrrada (p. 140).
 An honourable death is better than a dishonourable life.

Mas vale morir con honra que vivir con deshonra: *C* 229.

OPr. Am pro mort mais qu'avol viu (*Cny* 721).

39) La MUGER apuesta, non es de lo ageno conpuesta (p. 183)
 The truly pretty woman is not made up.

Cf. Compuesta, no ay muger fea. *N* 20.

Fr. Femme de riche vestement parée,

A un fumier est comparée,

Qui de vert fait sa couverture,

Au descouvrir appert l'ordure (*LeR* I, 222).

40) Estonçe perdi mi ONOR quando dixe mal e oy peor
 (p. 211), *S*.

I lost my good name when I spoke ill and heard worse.

La niña perdió su honor donde habló mal y la respondieron peor. *Sb*, *V* 35.

Port. Sahi-me ao sol, disse mal, ouvi peor.

41) A lo PASADO no ay consejo ninguno (p. 330).
 No counsel avails for what is past.

Nin por mucho andar / Alcançan lo pasado. *ST* 107. — Alo hecho no ay remedio. *C* 22. — The modern form is : A lo hecho, pecho. — Cf. also : El conejo ido, el consejo venido.

Quod factum est, infectum reddi non potest.

OFr. Quand la chose est faite, li consaus en est pris (*LeR* II, 376).

Port. O coelho ido, conselho vindo.

O passado passado.

It. Domandar consiglio dopo il fatto (*Pes.* p. 190).

Ven. A cosa fata, no val consegio. (*Prov. Ven.*, I 92).

Lim. Chausa facha, counselh pres (p. 557).

Frib., nº 9.

42) La PICAÇA en la puente, de todos rrie, e todos de su fruenta
(p. 270).

Cf. nº 36. — Dice la pega, é todos della. *S*, N 33, *V* 24. — La muger placera, dice de todos y todos della. *N* 59.

Port. A mulher andeira (o palreira) diz de todas e todos dizem della.

Deridens alium incidit in derisum.

Quién de otro quiere escarnecer,

En escarnio ha de caer. (*Enxemplos*, chap. xxxi).

43) PIEDRA mouediza, non la cubre moho (p. 32).

The rolling stone gathereth no moss (*H*).

Found in *Castigos* p. 180, *S*, and *C* 317. — Piedra movediza nunca moho la cobija. *N* 88, *C* 180.

Saxum volutum non obducitur musco.

Musco lapis volutus, haud obducitur (*Sy*).

OFr. Pierre volente ne quielt mosse (*LeR* II, 462).

Fr. Pierre qui roule, n'amasse pas mousse (*LeR* I, 81).

Port. Pedra movediça não cria musgo.

Cat. Pedra movedissa (pedra qui roda) no cria molsa.

Ven. Pietra mossa non fa musco (*Prov. Ven.* II, 147).

44) PIERDE el lobo los dientes, mas non las mientes (p. 224).

The fox grows grey, but never good (*H*).

N 88. — Pierde el *asno* las dientes, e non las mientes, *S*. — Muda el lobo los dientes, y no las mientes. *C* 246. — Mudar los dientes, etc. *N* 74.

Vulpes pilum mutat, non mores (*Otto* 1940).

Fr. Le loup est toujours le loup (*LeR* I, 181).

Port. O lobo perde os dentes, mais não o costume.

O lobo muda o cabelo mais não o celo.

45) Los PIES que vsados son de andar non pueden quedos estar
(p. 346)

Feet that are wont to go, cannot be still.

Cf. Pies malos, camino andan. *S*.

46) Quien todo lo QUIERE, todo lo pierde (p. 146). *C* 360.
Who wants all, loses all.

OFr. Cil qui dui choses chace, nul n'en prent. (*LeR* II, 274)

Qui tout convoite, tout pert (*Vil* 222).

OPr. Qui tot vol tener tot pert (*Cny* 694)

Lat. Lepores duos qui insequitur, is neutrum capit (*Sy*).

It. Chi tutto abbrazza, nulla strenze.

Chi tutto vol, de rabia mor (*Roma*).

Cat. Qui tot ho vol, tot ho pert (*BS* 750).

Port. E bem entendo que fizo folia

e dizem verdade, per hũa rem,

« do que muyto quer, a pouco devêm ». (*Canc. da Vat.*).

Quem tudo quer, tudo perde.

47) Lo que SABEN tres, lo sabe toda res (p. 294).
What three know, everybody knows.

Es enxemplo çertero / Que lo que saben tres / Ya es pleito placero : / Sabe
lo toda rex. *ST* 421.

48) Mas vale SABER que auer (p. 201). *Fl.* Ley XII, *S*, *C* 230.
Knowledge is worth more than riches.

En el mundo tal cabdal / Non ay como el saber / : Mas que heredad val, /
Nin thesoro nin aver. *ST* 310.

Cat. Lo saber val mes que haver (*BS* 114).

Port. Mais val saber que haver.

Frib. n° 288.

OPr. Mais val sens que non fai manentia (*Cny* 614)

49) Alguno se cuyda SANTIGUAR, e se quiebra los ojos (p. 312).
He tries to cross himself, and puts an eye out.

Pensò santiguar, y quebròse vn ojo. *C* 314.

OFr. Tel cuide avoir des œufs au feu,

Qui n'a que des escailles (*LeR* II, 420).

OPr. Vers es l'enxemples de Rainart,

Tals se cuida chalfar, qí s'art (*Peretx* 79. Cf. *Cny* 373-6).

It. El se crede segnare, e se da di deti in li occhi (*Roma*)

50) Non da Dios pan, synon en el ero SENBRADO (p. 89).
He who would reap must sow (H).

Da Dios trigo, en el ero sembrado (*Castigos é Doc.*, p. 175).

A quien senbrar non plase, / Su trigo non le allega. *ST* 109.

Qui parcè seminat, parcè et metet (*II Corinth.* VII 6).

Fr. Il faut semer, qui veut moissoner (*LeR* I, 85).

Qui seim bon grain, recueille bon pain (*LeR* I, 75).

OPr. Qui vol cuillir avena, / primieiramen la semena (*Per* 173, *Cny* 151).

It. Chi no semena, no racoglie (*Prov. Ven.* I, 67).

Cat. Qui senbra, cull (*Sb.* IX, 50).

Port. Quem semea, recolhe.

51) Mas vale a omen andar SEÑERO, que con mal compañero (p. 231).

It is better to go alone than in bad company.

Flores, Ley XXIII.

Solus melius est sociatus.

Mejor compania es solo estar

Que entre mala gente conversar (*Enxemplos*, chap. cccl).

Fr. Il vaut mieux estre seul, que mal acompaigné (*LeR* II, 319).

It. Meglio solo, che mal accompagna (*Roma*).

Cat. Més val sol estar, que ab auol companya (*BS.* 401).

Més val anar sol, que mal aconpanyat.

52) Quien a buen SEÑOR sirue con seruiçio leal, buena soldada saca e non al (p. 122).

Who loyally serves a good master, receives a good wage.

Cf. Quien a buen señor sirue, non pierde su tiempo. (Los Rios, *Historia*, V, 390) — De grandes señores, grandes mercedes se esperan (*Quixote*, II, 32).

Fr. Qui a bon maistre sert, bon loyer en attend (*LeR* II, 88).

53) Do ay buen SESO, ay otro mejor (p. 20).

54) SIGUE el lobo, mas non fasta la mata (p. 141).

Follow the wolf, but not into his lair.

Be bold but not too bold (H)

Ven. Bisogna pelar la gaza, senza che la cria (*Prov. Ven.* I, 53).

55) Todo TALANTE cobdiçia su semejante (p. 163).

Birds of a feather flock together (*H*).

Toda criatura revierta a su natura (*Castigos é Doc.*, p. 166).

Pares cum paribus.

Plerumque similem ducit ad similem Deus (*Sy*).

Fr. Chacun quiert son semblable (*LeR* II, 269).

Port. Cada qual con seu igual.

OPr. Tota creatura / Revertis a sa natura (*Cny* 167, *Peretz* 228).

56) De TALES bodas tales rroscas (p. 346).

Such as the tree is, such is the fruit (*H*).

Cf. nº 25. — Found in *C* 96. The nature of this proverb naturally admits of an infinite variety of variations. — De tales bodas tales tortas. — De tales poluos tales lodos. — De tal pedaço tal retaço. — De tal barba tal escarua. — De tal leña tal morceña.

Qualis pater, talis filius.

Fr. Telle racine, telle feuille.

Tel arbre, tel fruit (*LeR* I, 58, II 230).

Port. Qual ricomen, tal vassalo.

Qual concelho, tal compana (*Canc. da Vat.*).

57) La TARDANÇA muchas vezes enpeçe (p. 96).

Delay hath oft wrought scathe (*H*).

En la tardança está el peligro. *C* 132, *Quixote* I, 46.

58) TELAS de mi coraçon (p. 262).

Found also in *Quixote* II, chap. 13.

59) Quien TIENPO ha e tienpo atyende, tienpo viene que tienpo pierde (p. 60).

Take time when time cometh, lest time flee away (*H*).

Quien tiempo tiene y tiempo atiende, tiempo viene que se arrepiente. *S*, *C* 358. — Cf. Quien bien tiene y mejor escoge, por mal que le venga, ne se enoje. *Jud*, *Quixote* I, 31, *Burke* 39. — Quien dexa lo que tiene, faze grand mal rrecabdo. *JR* 229

OFr. Temps vient et temps passe, / Fol est qui ne compasse (*LeR* I, 133).

Qui ne fait quand il puet / Ne fait quand il vuet (*LeR* II, 398).

It. Chi ha tempo, non aspetti tempo (*Roma*).

Port. Quem tempo tem, e por tempo espera, tempo he que o Demo lhe leva.

OPr. Car qui non fes can far poiria, / ja non fara quan volria (*Peretz* 273, Cf. 272, 4).

60) Creo que fallaste quien vos TRESQUILASE (p. 151).

An allusion to the common proverb : Ir por lana, y volver trasquilado. *Quixote* I, 7; II, 14, 43, 67; *Burke* 218. — A fuller form is : El carnero encantado, que fue por lana, y boluio tresquilado. *N* 37. — Cf. Las mulas fueron á buscar cuernos, vinieron sin orejas. *Jud* 595.

Port. Ir por lãa e vir tosquiado.

Cat. Anar por llana y tornar esquilat.

61) La VERGUENÇA es tal commo el buen espejo : ca quien enel se cata, non dexa manzilla enla cara (p. 201).

This recalls the proverb of the *Quixote* : Mas vale verguença en cara, que mancilla en coraçon (*Quix.* II, 40, *Burke* 396, *C* 231). — Que mas val verguença en faz, que en coraçon manzilla. *JR* 870.

Port. Mais val vergonha na cara, que magoa no coração.

62) Sy vos plaze, a mi faze.

Cf. Si a vos agrada, a mi no me desagrada. *C*.

Fr. Ce qui plaist, marché faict (*Le R* II, 261).

VI

THE INTERPOLATED TALES; FABLES ¹

- 1) *The ass and the lap-dog* (p. 82). A good man has a little dog in whose company he takes great delight. He has also an ass to carry the wood and other burdens. The ass, seeing his master play with the dog, reasons that he ought to take much more pleasure in the companionship of his faithful ass : and acting upon this thought, he begins to gamble before his master, trying to caress him with his hoofs. The man calls for

1. I have adopted for convenience the classification into Fables, Anecdotes, Miracles and Facetiae.

help, and his servants beat the foolish beast nearly to death :
« and justly, for no one ought to try to do that for which he is unfitted by nature. »

This Esopic fable exists in numerous versions, and practically without variant. There is an oriental fable very similar, in which the ass plays the part of a watch dog, and is beaten by thieves (Benfey, *Pantschatantra* I, 110). Our version occurs in the *Fabulae Antiquae* and its derivatives (Hervieux, *Fabulistes Lat.* II, 137), and in the medieval moralists. *Gesta Romanorum* (Oesterle, cap. 72 : Keller, cap. 79). — *Violier des hist. rom.* chap. 77. — Jacques de Vitry (Crane no. 15). — For other versions see notes of Oesterle and Crane. In Spain it is found in Juan Ruiz (Janer p. 270, Ducamin p. 257) and *Ysopo* (Sevilla 1533) I, nº 17. — It has given rise to the English proverb : An ass was never cut out for a lap-dog (*H*).

2) *The lark and the snarer* (p. 180). A bird-catcher who has taken only a single lark, is about to kill it, when it speaks and pleads for its life, arguing that it is too small to furnish a meal for a man, and furthermore promising to give in exchange for its liberty, three counsels of great value. The man agrees to set the bird free for one counsel if a good one; whereupon the bird says : 1) Do not believe that which you see and know cannot be true. 2) Don't worry about what you have lost if you see you can not get it back. 3) Do not undertake anything that you know you can not accomplish.

Upon hearing the three precepts the snarer releases the bird and returns to the field with his nets. Upon that the lark again appears, saying : « How deceived you were in me ! If you had known that I have in my head a precious stone as large as a griffin's egg you would never have let me go ; for you would be rich and have the power of obtaining anything you wish, while I would lose my power of speech without the stone. »

The snarer believes what he hears and tries again to catch the bird, thus neglecting two of the precepts. The bird tells him to give up his attempts to catch her, as he cannot fly. This so enrages the hunter that he vows he will not rest until

he has carried out his design. On passing through the plaza, he finds a juggler whom he asks how to fly. The juggler directs him to cover himself with wax, into which he must stick a great many small feathers, and to jump from a high tower, helping himself all he can with the feathers. He follows this advice and is killed.

For lists of different versions of this tale, see Oesterley's Kirchof's *Wendmuth* IV, 34; Oesterley's *Gesta Romanorum*, note to chap. 167, p. 739; Crane's note to Jacques de Vitry, n° 28; Köhler's *Kl. Schriften* I, pp. 576 and 580. Add. *Doni des Amants* (Romania XXV, 540); *Libro de los enxemplos*, caps. 53 and 300; *Barlaam e Josafat*, f. cxxiv (Biblioteca Real de Madrid, ms. VII-d 5); *Ysopo* (Sevilla 1533) f. 58 (from the *Disciplina Clericalis*).

M. Gaston Paris, in his monograph on this fable (*Le lai de l'Oiselet*, Paris 1884) does not mention the version of the Cifar. He divides the European versions of the story into two families, originating in the *Disciplina Clericalis* and the Greek *Barlaam and Josaphat* respectively. One of the important differences between these groups is the character of the person who catches the bird. In the descendants of the Barlaam he is a simple bird-catcher, while in the *Disciplina* and its derivatives he is the owner of a garden, and delights in the bird's song. Another distinguishing feature is the nature of the precepts. In the Cifar these correspond to those of the Barlaam (Migne, *Patrologia Lat.*, vol. 73, col. 479) excepting in the order, which is reversed. M. Paris considers the original form of these precepts to be: 1) Ne poursuis pas l'inattingible, 2) Ne regrette pas l'irrecouvrable, 3) Ne crois pas l'incroyable. In the Cifar the order corresponds more closely with the order in which the precepts are forgotten. First comes the foolish belief in what the bird says, then the grief at the loss, and finally, the attempt at recovery. The Icarus-like ending of our version is a trait which I have not found in any other. The three precepts have been inserted in the first story of the second night of Straparola, in the form of a poem (*Les facétieuses Nuicts*, ed. Jannet, I, 98; Rua, *Le Piacevole Notti*, Roma 1898, p. 37).

3) *The wolf and the leeches* (p. 255). A wolf that is pursued by hounds, is obliged to cross a lake, and arrives at the other side covered with leeches, which he pulls off with his teeth. The dogs run around the lake and force him to take to the water for the second time. He arrives at the shore very much exhausted from loss of blood, and again covered with leeches. Another wolf who happens along, advises him to leave the leeches alone,

so that if obliged to enter the water again, the newcomers will find no place to hang.

This is a version of the Esopic fable of the Fox and the Nits, which is given in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Bk. II, chap. xx. The commoner version (Oesterley's *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 348 and note) is told of a sick man and the flies that cluster on his sores. See also Braga, *Contos tradicionais*, II, p. 30, note 1. Add, *Espejo de los legos*, f. 15 (ms. 94, Biblioteca Nac. de Madrid).

4) *Wind, Water, and Truth* (p. 321). Wind Water and Truth form a compact to help each other. To that end they try to determine where each may be found in case of necessity.

Wind says he may be found on the hilltops, or in the valleys between high mountains. If not there, he is always to be found in the leaves of the aspen-tree.

Water may be found in the streams or in the springs. As a last resort he may be sought where the rushes grow green.

When it comes Truth's turn to speak, she says that while they have her with them, they must not let her go; for she is of such a nature that she shuns him who once lets her out of his sight.

In the *Notti* of Straparola (XI, 3), a similar legend is told to his brother friars by Pomporio, who has been reprimanded for his excessive gluttony. Shame is substituted for Truth.

Wind, Water, and Shame dine together at an inn. After the repast, Shame asks whether they will ever meet again under such pleasant circumstances. Wind and Water tell where they can be found; but Shame says that he has no definite abode and is never sure of a lodging.

Neither Jannet in his notes to the French translation of the *Notti*, nor G. Rua in his monograph on the sources of the *Notti* gives any variant of this allegory. In the Spanish folk-tale of the company formed between Truth, Justice, and Avarice, Truth is drowned and never heard from afterwards (*Folk-Lore anduluz*, Sevilla 1883, p. 126; reproduced in Marin, *Cantos pop. españoles*, II, 196). A hunt for Truth who is lost, is the subject of a Portuguese sirvente by Aryas Nunes (Braga, *Canc. da Vat.*, Lisboa 1873, n° 455, p. 86; Braga, *Contos trad.* II, 11). — In R. Lull's *Libro de Maravillas* (Tract. VIII, cap. 37, 12) Truth is found weeping because no one cares for her.

ANECDOTES

5) *The half friend* (p. 21). A rich man of Sarapia gives his son a great deal of money, together with the advice to win as many friends as possible. After ten years he asks him how many friends he has. The youth replies that there are a hundred who would stand by him in any straits. His father congratulates him, as in his own long life he has been able to gain only one half-friend. It happens that at this time the youth has a quarrel with a young man of rank who threatens to kill him. His father sends him out of the city, and settles the dispute amicably with the family of the other boy; but before sending for his son to return, he kills and quarters a pig, and puts the carcass in a bag which he hides under the bed.

When his son comes back, he tells him that on returning from church he found the enemy lying in wait behind the door, and killed him in self-defence, and put the body in the bag. He tells him to take the bag and to get one of his friends to help him bury it secretly.

The youth, after being repulsed by each of his friends in turn, is sent by his father to the half-friend, who receives him kindly, and buries the bag in his own garden. The boy confesses that the half-friend is worth more than all the others. Before dawn his father again sends him to the house of the half-friend, bidding him « cook and season well what he had buried », and to expect them to dinner on the following day. The good-man tells his son that a dead enemy is better than a live one, and better cooked than raw.

The half-friend, who suspects that the boy is being taught a lesson, carries out his part of the plan: and the three seat themselves at table. The meat proves so appetizing, and tastes so much like pork, that the youth expresses a desire to treat all his enemies in the same way; upon which his father tells

him the truth, and points the corresponding moral. The boy is grateful for the lesson, and asks to be taught how to distinguish a whole-friend; so the good-man relates the following anecdote¹.

6) *The two friends* (p. 25 ff. ³). There lived in Canaan two boys who grew up the closest of friends, and had no wishes apart from each other; but upon growing to manhood, one left home in search of adventure, and establishing himself in a foreign city, became extremely rich. The other lost his family and his property, and was finally reduced to the necessity of seeking out his friend and living on his charity.

His friend had in his house a maiden whom he intended to marry. The newcomer falls in love with the girl, and consumed by his secret passion, sickens, and approaches so near to death's door that the chaplain of the house hears his last confession and gives him the host. When he learns the youth's secret, he communicates it to the master of the house, who with the utmost generosity gives up the girl to save his friend's life, marries them, and sends them back to his friend's home with an abundance of wealth.

He immediately begins to suffer for his generosity; for he is obliged to wage continual warfare with the girl's relatives, who consider themselves slighted. Reduced to absolute poverty, he is obliged, in his turn, to seek out his friend. After a weary journey he arrives at night at his friend's city after the gates are closed. He goes to sleep in a hermitage near the gate, where he is found in the morning by a party of the townspeople, who are looking for the author of a murder committed during the night. When dragged before the judge, preferring death to his misery, he decla-

1. For other versions, see Oesterley's, *Gesta Romanorum*, note to n° 129; Brunet, *Violier des hist. Rom.*, notes to chap. cix; Goedeke, *Every Man, Romulus und Hekastes*, Hanover 1865; Köhler, *Kl. Schriften*, II, 557.

See Brunet, *Violier des Hist. Rom.*, note to chap. cxxxix; Köhler, *Kl. Schr.* II, 558.

res himself guilty. At that moment he is recognized by his friend who is in the crowd, and who at once steps forward and says that he is murderer, and the prisoner an innocent man. The judge has not time to recover from his surprise, when the real criminal advances, and declares both the prisoners innocent, and himself the guilty one. The decision of the case is left to the Emperor, who is to come to the city that day. He questions each of the prisoners in turn, learns the truth, and in the presence of what he considers a miracle, sets them all free, and takes them into his service.

The tests of friendship in the various medieval collections of fables and apologues, are represented by three types: a) The story of the Half-friend, which may occur by itself, or, as in the *Cifar*, together with its complement, the story of the Two Friends (perfect Friend), and which came into Europe from an oriental source, through the *Disciplina Clericalis*¹ of Petrus Alfonsus. b) The story of the Two Friends, which is usually found following that of the Half-friend. In that case it may be traced to the *Disciplina*. When found alone (Boccaccio, *Decamerone* X, 8), it is so changed as to represent, in some respects, an earlier form of the story². c). The story of the Three Friends, which made its appearance in Europe with the Barlaam and Joasaph, and which is briefly this.

A young man has three friends, one of whom he loves better than himself, the second as much as himself, and the third little or not at all. When he gets into trouble, he goes to each of these friends in turn for help, and it is the least loved who proves himself the truest³.

1. Petrus Alfonsus, *Disciplina Clericalis*, ed. Schmidt, Berlin 1827, also, together with the French translation, by the *Soc. des Bibliophil. Franç.*, Paris 1824.

2. Dr. Landau (*Die Quellen des Dekameron*, Stuttgart 1884, p. 265) thinks, on the contrary, that the Boccaccio version is to be traced to the *Disciplina* through a French translation.

3. *Wiener Jahrb. f. Lit.*, 1824 (vol. 26), p. 34; Latin trans. of Billius in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. 73, 491; See also Oesterley, *Gesta Rom*, Cap. 238 and note; Köhler, *Kl. Schr.* I, 579; Böhmer, *Rom. Studien*, IV, 11, and note on p. 84; Jacques de Vitry, *Exempla*, ed. Crane, no. CXX; *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, XXII (1898) p. 449 f.; Braga, *Contos trad.*, no 131; *Enxemplos*, no 16 (*Rom. VII*, 492).

The story of the Half-friend is found as often by itself as coupled with its mate from the *Disciplina*; but it was clearly never intended to be told separately. It must have had as its original, a story in which the father tells his son that in all his life he has gained *only one true friend*. Such a version exists, translated from the Arabic of Ahmed-Ibn-Arabschah¹.

A father sends his only son into the world, with the injunction to try to make one true friend. After a short time the youth returns, bringing with him fifty friends. His father is surprised, as in seventy years he has been able to win only one. He kills a sheep and puts it in a bag, puts blood on the boy's garments, and together they make the test of the fifty friends as in our version. The old man's one friend is the only one who is willing to expose himself for friendship's sake.

This is apparently very near to the primitive form of the tale. In the *Disciplina* the story is essentially the same, excepting for the substitution of a *half-friend* for the *true friend*. This substitution is evidently a device of Alfonsus, who found both the simple « Test of Friendship » and the story of the « Two Friends » existing in independent form, and who conceived the idea of complementing the simpler tale by the one of greater interest, in which two friends make for each other the greatest of possible sacrifices.

The Half-friend is found in Spain, together with its complement, in the *Libro de los Enxemplos*, nos 18 and 19 (Morel-Fatio, *Romania*, VII, p. 493 ff.); and in the *Ysopo* of 1533, p. 54 ff. Both of these texts refer to the *Disciplina*.

By itself it occurs in two distinct versions, in the *Castigos é Documentos*, Cap. xxxvi, p. 157 (different mss.), the longer reprinted in Rios, *Hist. crit.* IV, 575; *Espejo de los Legos*, cap. viii, f. 11 (ms. 94, Bib. Nac. de Madrid. Mentions Alfonsus)²; *Conde Lucanor*, Ex. XLVIII (Gayangos, p. 418, Knust, p. 217).

The versions which refer to Alfonsus offer no variant, and need not be discussed. I shall try to determine the relation of the others. Of the two versions (*a* and *b*) of the *Castigos*, the one (*a*) which Gayangos has used in his text does not differ materially from that of the *Disciplina*. The other (*b*), which is much longer, shows how a copyist may alter a text.

After the test of the half-friend, the good-man invites him and the false friends to a feast. When all are assembled, he forces his son, by threatening to disinherit him, to strike the half-friend a blow in the face. The friend

1. Cardonne, *Mélanges de lit. orientale*, Paris, 1770, I, 78. Ibn-Arabschah flourished about 1509.

2. Gayangos says incorrectly Chap. IX (*Escritores en prosa ant. al siglo XV*, p. 445).

accepts the blow, saying that not even that will make him reveal the secret. Upon this the good-man tells the whole story to the astonished guests. He adds that the final test of the blow was made to see whether the half-friend deserved the higher title of *amigo verdadero*.

In this version it is probable that the copyist, dissatisfied with the abrupt ending of the story, has tried to complete it by introducing the blow, as the test of a « true friend ». The version of Juan Manuel is very similar.

A few days after the test of the half-friend, the boy is sent to strike him in the face, with the same result as above. From this point the story is ended in a different way. It happens that a murder has been committed, and the boy who has been seen going about with the sack at night, is suspected, and condemned to death. The half-friend tells the judge that the boy is innocent, and that his own son is the murderer. He forces his son to confess his guilt (though innocent), and he is executed. Thus he shows himself capable of the greatest sacrifice (giving up his son), for friendship's sake.

This is also, apparently, an attempt to end the story in a less abrupt and more satisfactory way; but by one who knew also the other story of the *Disciplina*. The trait of the « blow » indicates a familiarity with version *b* of the *Castigos* as well ¹.

Coming to the version of the Cifar, we find two interesting changes. (a) The father himself kills the animal while his son is away. As a result the boy thinks he is really carrying the dismembered body of his enemy. (b) The boy is made to eat the meat under the impression that it is human flesh. It has been suggested that these changes have been taken from some French version of the story ²; but the known French versions follow closely that of the *Disciplina*. We know that the author of the Cifar knew the *Castigos* (see chap. III), and we have seen what changes a copyist has brought about in that text from a desire to improve the story. Granting a similar desire on the part of our author, and assuming that he took the idea of the feast from *Castigos b*, it is not necessary to look for an intermediate French version.

The Cifar's story of the « Two Friends » does not differ from that of Alfonso, excepting in the richness of detail which is characteristic of all the stories interpolated in our text.

1. Gayangos was of this opinion (*Escrit. en prosa*, p. 157, n. 1).

2. Michelant says (p. 358) that the author of the Cifar knew certain French texts of the middle ages, among them the « *Castoiment d'un père à son fils*, *Barbazan*, 6. 2)... voraus er auch die fabel des halben freundes geschöpft hat. Baist says (*op. cit.*, p. 414), « .. Bei den zwei Disziplinanovellen des *Cavallero Cifar* scheint eine franz. Version in der Mitte zu liegen. »

The accompanying scheme will explain more fully the relation of the different « tests of friendship » as I understand it ¹.

7) *The King and the preacher* (p. 178). A King who is going hunting, passes a man preaching in the highway, to whom he says : « I am going hunting and cannot stay to hear your sermon unless you are willing to cut it short. » The preacher replies : « The mercies of God are so great that they cannot be told in a few words. Go your way, and let those hear who have a desire to hear ; but remember that for one sin alone Adam was driven out of Paradise. » The King goes on, and finding an apothecary at work, asks him for a receipt to cure sin.

The apothecary gives him a receipt for a preparatory syrup to be followed by a purge. « Take the roots of the fear of God, and marrow of His commandments, and the bark of the willingness to keep them, together with the dried fruit of humility, chastity, patience, charity, etc. After this take an ounce of fine rhubarb of the love of God, weighed with the balance of faith that the sins will be pardoned ; and drink it with the whey of a firm intention to sin no more. »

This anecdote and the receipt are taken from the *Flores de Filosofia*, caps. II and III (Knust, *Dos obras*, etc., pp. 18-20). They came into the *Flores* from the *Bocados de Oro* (ed. Knust, cap. II, p. 70). For a similar anecdote of a preacher and his impious hearers, see the *Libro de los Enxemplos*, n° CCCVI.

✓ 8) *The wolf and the lamb* (p. 143). A wolf steals a lamb from the fold. The neighbour of its owner goes after the wolf, and rescues the lamb. When the good-man meets his neighbour, he asks him what he has done with the lamb. « We have eaten

1. That the Baarlaam story and that of the Disciplina are not clearly distinguished, the following quotation will show. « Die bekannte Barlaamparabel von der Freundschaftsprobe stammt in Sancho's *Castigos* vielleicht aus der *Disciplina*, bei Juan Manuel tritt anderswoher die dort fehlender Ausdeutung hinzu. » (Baist, *op. cit.*, p. 144). Braga, *Contos trad.* II notes to 131, also confuses the two stories.

it », is the reply. « Then », replies the good-man, « I see no difference between you and the wolf. »

Another version in the text called « Carta del Rey Don Pedro, que le enbio vn mozo del Andaluzia ». (Bib. Nac. de Madrid, ms. 9428, f. 22).

Dixo vn ombre asu vezino : « Fulano, tu cordero te tomo el lobo, e fuy yo en pos del, e tiregelo de su poder. » E pregunto le do lo. E rrespondio le el : « Degollelo e comilo. » Dixo : « Pues tu e el lobo amos sodes vna cosa. » E el pastor que desta cosa vsa con su ganado, o beuira mala vida, o non fincara pastor.

9) *The Emperor who tried to escape from his fate* (p. 69). An Emperor of Rome who was very much afraid of lightening, built an underground house in which to live whenever the sky was clouded. One fine day his courtiers persuaded him to go hunting. While some distance from home, a cloud appeared in the sky, and before he could reach his retreat he was overtaken by the storm and killed by a bolt of lightening. « Thus none can flee from the fate that God has in store for him. »

Two similar anecdotes with an identical moral are told in Medrano's *Silva Curiosa* (Sbarbi, *Refranero General*, X, pp. 167 and 8). In one, a philosopher who knows he is to be killed by something falling from above, never enters a covered building. An eagle drops a turtle on his head, and in this way the prophecy is fulfilled.

10) *The good-man and his daughter* (p. 164). A good-man had a daughter who had a great many friends, and whose company was much sought after. Wishing to know whether the friendship she professed for all was true or otherwise, he asked her to join him in a game of « Questions and Answers. » In reply to his questions she tells him that a woman who loves many, cares only for the present object of her affection. She is like a mirror, that receives many images, but retains none. Her father is surprised at her knowledge, and asks her where these things are to be learned. She replies : « In poorly guarded convents. »

For this story the Cifar quotes St. Jerome.

11) *The physiognomist* (p. 185). A philosopher by the name of Afilon (Filon) came to a certain city and founded a school of physiognomy. One of his enemies said one day to one of his pupils : « What is the nature of a man who has such and such eyes, and forehead of such a kind ? » The scholar replied that he would be lying, luxurious, and envious. « Then », says the man, « such is the character of your master who has precisely those features. » The scholars go with the story to their master, saying they would rather believe his science worthless than believe his character such as the signs indicate. He replies that the signs are true, and that his natural impulses correspond with them ; but that by grace of the free will with which every man is endowed, he has been able to control his evil instincts, and to become what they know him to be.

This is an elaboration of a story of the *Secretum Secretorum* (Bib. Nac. de Madrid, ms. 9513, f. 83 ; ms. 9522, f. 94). The disciples of Hippocrates take his portrait to Philemon (*sic*) the physiognomist, and ask him to indicate the meaning of the features. The sage replies that it is the face of a man who is luxurious and deceitful. The scholars return in anger to their teacher, who admits the truth of the description, but says that he early learned to control his evil side.

12) *The kiss* (p. 195). A widow so loves her young son that she never punishes him for his childish misdemeanors. Left to follow his evil courses, he goes from bad to worse, and is several times arrested for robbery and outrage, invariably getting free by his mother's intercession. The people who have suffered at the hands of the lawless youth, complain to the Emperor, who orders him to be hanged. As he is being led to the scaffold, his mother begs to be permitted to give him a last kiss, and the guards permit her to approach. When near the boy, he leans forward as if to kiss her, and savagely tears her nose and lips with his teeth. The Emperor, who wishes to know the reason for such ferocity, learns that the boy has taken this way to punish his mother for neglecting to correct him in his child-

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hood. The Emperor considers the boy less guilty than his mother and pardons him.

For other versions see Jacques de Vitry (ed. Crane) note to n° 281. In *Romania*, XIV, 581 ff., M. Paul Meyer has brought together five early examples of this story. That of the *De Escolarium Disciplina* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 64, 1227), which is the earliest, and those of Eude de Cherington, Jacques de Vitry, Vincent de Beauvais (*Spec. Morale*, III, 3, vii) and Philippe de Navarre. Spanish versions are : *Castigos é Documentos*, p. 90; *Espejo de los Legos*, cap. XLIII; *Libro de los Enxemplos*, n° 273; *Ysopo*, p. 46 (Sevilla 1533). The first three mention the *De Escolarium Disciplina*. In all excepting the *Ysopo*, it is the father of the boy and not the mother who is punished. The Cifar is the only text in which the boy is pardoned.

13) *The King and the minstrel* (p. 236). The King Anegeno refuses to give a minstrel a mark of gold for singing before him, on the ground that a minstrel ought not to ask so much. He likewise refuses to give a « dinero » on the pretence that it is too little for a King to give.

Also in *Libro de los Enxemplos*, n° 255 (Gayangos, p. 510).

The original of the anecdote is the passage from Seneca, *De benefic.*, II, xvii. Ab Antigono cynicus petiit talentum. Respondit, plus esse quam quod cynicus petere deberet. Repulsus petiit denarium. Respondit, minus esse quam quod regem deceret dare.

14) *Alexander and the citizen* (p. 236). Alexander gives a poor man a city as reward for his services. The man excuses himself from accepting, as the gift is not befitting his humble station. Alexander replies : « I do not consider what is fitting for you to receive, but what is fitting for me to give. »

The original is Seneca, *De benefic.* II, xvi. Urbem cuidam Alexander donabat vesanus, et qui nihil animo non grande conciperet. Quum illi cui donabatur, se ipse mensus, tanti muneris invidiam refugisset, dicens non convenire fortunae suae. Non quaero, inquit, quid te accipere deceat, sed quid me dare.

Spanish parallels : *Bocados de Oro*, p. 310; *Enxemplos* (Gayangos) XXVI; *Castigos é Documentos*, p. 119.

Also in the Italian *Fiore di Virtù* (Carraroli, *La leggenda di Alessandro magno*, Mondovi, 1892, p. 275). The similar story of the *Novellino* (Gualteruzzi, 4,

D'Ancona in *Rom.* III, 165) appears to be a combination of this simple theme with the story of the reward, half of which is shared by another person by previous arrangement (Straparola, VII, 3; Juan de Aragon, n° 3, in Rivadeneira, 3, p. 168; Eusebio Blasco, *Cuentos aragoneses*, n° 18). A different version of the generosity of Alexander is that of Timoneda's *Sobremesa*, I, n° 52 (Riv. 3, p. 175), which is copied in the *Silva Curiosa* of Medrano (Sbarbi, *Ref. Gen.*, X, 163).

15) *The King of Ephesus* (p. 257). A King of Ephesus, who is always false in his dealings with his people, perishes by treachery of a vassal. To get the King in his power, this vassal has it spread abroad that he is going to burn publicly his daughter, and invites the King to be present. The people come in a crowd to see the execution, and the Count harangues them to such effect that they attack the King with stones and put him to death.

Cf. the anecdote in R. Lull's *Libro de Maravillas* (Palma 1750), Tract. VII, cap. IV, 2, where the theme is treated more simply.

16) *The Roman captive* (p. 252). A King of Rome whom the Greeks have taken prisoner, is sent back to negotiate an exchange of captives, on his promise to return as a voluntary prisoner if he cannot effect the exchange. The Romans try to keep him with them, but he leaves the city by night to return to Greece rather than break his pledge.

A version of the Regulus story.

17) *The Cardinals* (p. 257). It was the custom of the Cardinals at Rome to fill their pockets by prolonging the cases of those who came to the court for favors. The Pope tried to stop the abuse by increasing the Cardinals' budget from his own private funds; but one of them explained to him that the evil could not be remedied that way, as the Cardinals resemble the cock, who, in spite of the abundance of corn given him, continues to scratch as before.

The greed of the Cardinals is mentioned by Juan Ruiz (Ducamin, st. 493 ff.).

18) *The treasurer* (p. 254). A Moorish King placed one of his servants in charge of his treasure, and permitted him to take a dobla each day as his wages. The treasurer took two doblas daily instead of one, and the decrease in the treasure was noticed by the King, who appointed a second treasurer to watch the first. The two officials agreed together to take each two doblas daily. The decrease in the treasure is again remarked by the King, who appointed a hundred treasurers with a resulting deficit in proportion. Finding his efforts to stop the robbery of no avail, the King applies to the first treasurer for a solution. He replies with the fable of the Wolf and the Leeches (above, n° 3).

19) *The unjust King* (p. 298). A King who has been cruel and unjust toward his subjects, is in such continual fear of assassination that he goes to bed armed. Although he thinks it is too late to set himself right in the eyes of his people, by the advice of his wife he assembles all his vassals, and publicly abdicates. Upon this token of repentance the people pardon him and restore him to the throne. From this time on the King rules wisely and justly.

20) *The King of Orbi* (p. 257). The King of Orbi, instead of appointing fit men as judges, sold the office to those who would pay the most. They, in turn, accepted money from evildoers instead of inflicting punishment. The King sees in a dream a crowd of his subjects who have been wronged, clamouring for his life. The dream opens his eyes to the real state of things, and he institutes the needed reforms.

21) *The alchemist* (p. 305). A young man who is son of the court barber of a Moorish King, is sent by his Lord to the court of another King, to serve him in whatever manner he can. When asked what he can do, the youth, who dislikes his father's trade, answers that he knows how to make gold. The next day the King asks for proof of his ability. The youth says he needs a quantity of « poluos de landique ». Those sent to buy the material returning empty-handed, the youth himself goes again with

them and finds a small amount at certain grocer's. The « poluos » consist of gold dust to the value of twenty doblas which the youth has secretly prepared the day before and deposited with the grocer, who sells them for ten doblas. The youth mixes the « landique » with other materials and melts the mass. The dross passes off in vapor, and leaves twenty doblas worth of fine gold. The King is rejoiced at the prospect of getting twenty doblas for every ten invested; but of course no more « landique » is to be found. When the youth volunteers to go to the country where it can be found, the King starts him off with ten camels loaded with silver. The youth is too clever to return.

Some time after this the King, who has the habit of prying about the city by night, overhears some young Moors talking, one of whom makes the remark that the biggest fool in the city is the King. When brought before the King the next day, and asked the meaning of his words, he replies that the King is a fool to trust his money to a stranger who is sure never to come back. « But what if he does come back? » says the King. « In that case », the youth replies, « I will cross out your name from the book of fools, and put his in its place. »

Other versions are : *Conde Lucanor* (ed. Knust), nº xx, p. 76 ; R. Lull's, *Libro de Maravillas*, tract. VI, cap. iv 10 (Palma, 1750, p. 185). In the *Lucanor*, the story is similar to ours, and the necessary powder is called « tabardie ». Lull's version is simpler. The King himself puts several simple ingredients into a kettle in which the youth has secretly placed the necessary amount of gold. The witticism with which the story ends, and which is lacking in Lull, exists as an anecdote apart, as Knust points out (p. 350). The version of Medrano's *Silva Curiosa* (Sbarbi, *Ref. Gen.*, X, 150), which Knust mentions, is copied from the *Sobremesa* of Timoneda, II, 29.

✓ The King who spies about the city by night recalls the frequent insomnia of Haroun-al-Raschid. For this trait see also : Braga, *Contos trad.*, nos 38, 39, 64 and 135 ; Timonedas's *Sobremesa*, I, 27.

MIRACLES

22) *Tabor King of Syria* (p. 188). The youthful Tabor, King of Syria, is left an orphan under the tutelage of his cousin Rages, who conspires to seize the throne. Prompted by a dream, and with the help of a band of angels, Tabor succeeds in outwitting the conspirator and putting him to death.

23) *The boy saved from the furnace* (p. 341). A boy who was sent on an errand, delayed in order to accompany a priest who was on his way to administer the last communion to a dying man. On account of the delay his master ordered him to be thrown into a furnace which he had in his house. The boy prayed so earnestly for help, that Christ received him in his arms, and he was withdrawn from the fire unhurt.

The latter part of this story conforms closely with the well-known legend of the Jewish boy. A Jewish boy, son of a glass-worker, accompanied his young Christian friends to church and received communion. His father hearing of this cast him into his furnace; but the boy was saved by the intercession of the Virgin Mary, and came out unscathed. This legend is studied in a monograph by E. Wolter (*Der Judenknabe*, Halle, 1879, in vol. I of *Bib. Normannica*). A list of variants is given in the *Cantigas de Don Alfonso el Sabio*, Madrid, 1889, I, xciv. Other Spanish versions are : Berceo, *Miraglo XVI*; *Libro de los Enxemplos*, CC. Our version seems to be a combination of this story and that of the King who sends his page (who has been falsely accused) with a letter, the recipient of which is to throw him into a furnace (*Novellino*-Borghini 68, and D'Ancona in *Romania*, III, 188. Also Braga, *Contos trad.*, 161 and 174).

24) *The adoring horse* (p. 341). Joran, a blasphemous knight, while riding through the streets of Altaclara, met a priest bearing the host, and refused to make way for the sacred procession. The horse, however, persisted in kneeling to the body of his Maker, and upon being beaten by Joran, threw him to the ground where he died. The horse then entered the church, « e alli esta que se non mueue ».

See also : *Espejo de los legos*, f. 73 (Bib. Nac. de Madrid, ms. 117 (old n° B. 108) which quotes Eude de Cherington.

FACETIAE

25) *The Ribaldo and the turnips* (p. 99). The Ribaldo enters a turnip field and begins putting the vegetables into his bag. Upon this the owner of the field appears, and threatens to drag him before the justice. The Ribaldo excuses himself, saying that as he was passing along the road a whirlwind arose, and lifting him from his feet, set him down in the garden. « But who pulled up these turnips? » asks the gardener. The Ribaldo answers that as the wind began to blow again, he seized hold of the leaves until the blow should cease, and in the process the turnips were pulled up. « But » says the gardener, « how came these turnips in your bag? » « That is what I can't understand » replies the Ribaldo. The gardener, amused at so ingenious a series of lies, lets the Ribaldo go on his way with the turnips.

The only other example of this story that I have been able to find, is in the collection of sayings ascribed to Nasr-Eddin (*Les Plaisanteries de Nasr-Eddin*, trad. Decourdemanche, Paris, 1876, n° 7; *Le Sottisier de Nasr-Eddin-Hodja*, trad. Decourdemanche, Bruxelles, 1878, n° 38). I will give in full the version of the *Sottisier* :

Un jour le Hodja, d'après ce qu'on raconte, entre dans un jardin, arrache quelques carottes et quelques navets et les met dans son sac. Le jardinier le surprend alors et lui crie : — Hé l'homme ! que fais-tu donc là ? — Pendant que je dormais, un vent violent a soufflé, et, ajoute le Hodja, conçois-tu qu'il m'a enlevé et jeté ici ! — Et qui a arraché et sorti tout ceci ? réplique le jardinier. — Mon ami, ajoute le Hodja, ne vois-tu pas qu'en continuant, ce vent qui m'a apporté comme je te l'ai dit, a causé ce dégât. — Et qui a mis ceci dans le sac ? poursuit le jardinier. — C'est justement à quoi je pensais, fit le Hodja, quand tu es arrivé.

It is probable that this anecdote was once common to the whole Arabic world, and that it came into the *Cifar*, as into the Turkish collection, from the mouth of the people.

26) *Roboan and Gallarda* (p. 269). At the court of Seringa there is a lady-in-waiting, Gallarda by name, whom Roboan compliments somewhat profusely on her many good qualities.

He goes so far as to say that the Lord, in order to unite in her so many charms, must have created her at a time when He had plenty of leisure. To this Gallarda, who prides herself on her wit, replies : « Would I might say as much for you ! » « You might, answers Roboan, if you would lie as I have done. »

Poggio tells this story of a very ugly soldier who compliments a passing girl on her beauty (*Poggii Florentini Oratoris et Philosophi Opera*, Bâle, 1538, 270 ; ed. Liseux, II, p. 231, n° 271 ; ed. Garnier, n° 271, p. 330). Poggio's version is given by Timoneda in the *Sobremesa*, II, 52 (Rivadeneyra, III, 181) and in the *Silva Curiosa* of Medrano (Sbarbi, *Ref. Gen.*, X, 156).

Charles Philip WAGNER.

APPENDIX A

When we come to a comparison of the three texts furnished by P (ms. of Paris), M (ms. of Madrid), and S (edition of Sevilla 1512), we find notable discrepancies. P and M begin with an introductory chapter or Prologue, which, with the exception of the last few lines, has nothing to do with the story of the Cifar. In S this is replaced by a prologue which is apparently due to the editor of the volume, who makes apology for the antiquity of the style of the work he is printing. The few lines of the manuscript prologue that refer to Cifar, are amplified in S to a sort of second title. We have no means of knowing whether the ms. on which S is based contained the Prologue or not ; but from its completeness in other respects, it is to be presumed that it did, and that the Prologue was suppressed by the editor, since from his point of view it could add nothing to the value of the volume.

Another discrepancy is in the number of chapters. P has 220, S 108, while M has only 34. This, however, is not so serious as

it looks. Many of the chapter headings of S are longer than those of P, and seem to have been made up of several, or else they correspond to only the first part of the contents of the chapter. One example will serve to illustrate. Chapter xxx of Book I in S, corresponds to the seven chapters of P represented by Michelant I, chaps. LXVII to LXXIII incl. Its heading, on the other hand, corresponds to the contents of the first two of these chapters only. (De como el cauallero Cifar peleó con dos caualleros, vno hijo del Rey de Ester, y el otro su sobrino, y los mato.) — We must suppose that the editor of S has deliberately cut down the number of chapters for the purpose of economizing space. It is to be noted that the divisions of S almost invariably coincide with some chapter division of P.

In M very much the same thing occurs. The chapter headings are as much longer than those of P as they are fewer in number. M fol. 108 v., « De como Rrages rresçibio a Tabor fijo del Rrey Fares con los otros del rregno por Rrey e por señor despues de dias de su padre », represents in Michelant, pages 188-277.

While this brings us back to P as our guide for the division into chapters, it gives us no clue to the relationship of the texts, for which we must rely on certain omissions and errors common to P and M. Of these two mss. P is by far the more complete, but they are evidently descendants of the same copy of the original, as they agree in omitting passages essential to the integrity of the text (Mich., p. 19, ll. 1-30 ; p. 104, ll. 30-31 ; p. 215, ll. 26-30 ; p. 293, ll. 5 and 6), and in an obvious error (Mich., p. 350, l. 14 : M *otro*, S *oro*).

S is the most complete text of all, but must be used with caution, as its editor has modernized the orthography, and substituted modern words for many of those that were passing out of use in his time. We find :

en otra cosa	<i>for</i>	en al,
fortuna	—	andança,

plazer	—	solaz,
alegre	—	ledo,
lidiar	—	pelear,
gana	—	talante,
presto	—	ayna,
tuerto	—	sin razon,
manera	—	guisa,
quedar	—	fincar,
diferencia	—	departimiento,
mañana	—	cras.

m before a labial is preferred to *n* (*emperador*, *nombre*). Initial *f* becomes often *h* (*hazer*, *hijo*). So we are brought back again to *P* as the basis of a critical text.

Besides the two existing mss. of the *Cifar* (described in chap. 1), we have notices of two others that have disappeared.

a) Michelant mentions a ms. formerly in possession of Marguerite of Austria. He says (p. 361) that this ms. was undoubtedly the original of the Seville print, but offers no proof of this statement.

b) We find mention of the *Cifar* in a ms. of the *Libro del Arçobispo de Seuilla* in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid¹. On the recto of the first fol. is the following list of books :

1. Este libro del arçobispo de [seui]ll[a]
 2. El libro de[l] vergel de consolacion
 3. el libro de sant bernaldo
 4. el libro de barl[am] (Rios reads *bartolo*)
 5. EL LIBRO DEL CAUAL[LER]O CIFAR (Rios reads *afar*)
 6. el libro de calila e digna
 7. el libro que fizo maestre Juan contra los judios
 8. el libro de los sermones de fray vincente.
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1. Described by Rios, *op. cit.*, V. 266, and more exactly by A. Paz y Méliá in the *Revista de Archivos* for 1897, p. 255 ff. See also for the author, Nicolás Antonio, *Biblioteca Hispana Vetus*, II, 375.

No one who has described the ms. has noticed the partially erased line at the top of the page which reads :

los libr[os] [q] teng[o] sō est[os]

Apparently it is a list of books in some one's possession. Of the eight books mentioned, four (n^{os} 1, 2, 3, and 7) are now in the remains of the library of the Conde de Haro, in the Bib. Nacional. It is not difficult to believe that the Cifar once belonged to the same collection, but all traces of it are lost. It is not mentioned in the original catalogue of the Haro library ¹.

The introductory chapter or Prologue of the Cifar is as follows ² :

[P. fol. 1]. Enel tienpo del honrrado padre Bonifaçio vltimo ¹, enla era de mill e trezientos años, el dia de la naçençia de nuestro Señor Ihesu Christo començo enel año jubileo, el qual dizen çentenario, porque non viene synon deçiento açiento años, e cunplese por la fiesta de Ihesu Christo dela era de mill e quatro çientos años, enel qual año fueron otorgados muy grandes perdones, e tan conplida mente quanto se pudo estender el poder del Papa a todos aquellos quantos pudieron yr ala çibdat de Roma a buscar las iglesias de Sant Pedro e de San Pablo quinze dias en este año, assy commo se contyene enel preuillejo de nuestro Señor el Papa. Onde este nuestro Señor el Papa, parando mientes ala gran fe, e ala gran deuocion que el pueblo Christiano auia en las yndulgençias deste año al Jubileo, e a los enojos e peligros, e alos grandes trabajos, e alos enojos delos grandes caminos, e alas grandes espensas delos peligrinos por que se podiesen tornar con plazer a sus compañeros — quiso e touo por bien que todos los pelegrinos de fuera dela çibdat de Roma que fueron a esta rromeria, maguer non conpliesen los quinze dias en que avian ² de vesitar las iglesias de Sant Pedro e de Sant Pablo, que oviessen ³ los perdones conplida mente ⁴; assy commo ⁵ aquellos quelos vesitaran aquellos quinze dias. E assy

1. Ms. has *vmo.* — 2. Ms. *avian.* — 3. Ms. *oviessen.* — 4. Ms. *conplidamente.* — 5. Ms. *como.*

1. See *Revista de Arch.*, 1897, pp. 66, 255 and 261; 1900, p. 538. The article on the Haro collection is not yet finished, but I am indebted for a sight of the original catalogue to the amiability of the author, the learned Sr. Paz y Mélia.

2. In this text, words supplied by the editor are in brackets, words to be cut out are in parentheses.

fueron otorgados atodos aquellos que salieron de sus casas para yr en esta rromeria, e murieron enel camino ante que llegasen a Roma, e despues que allegaron e visitaron las iglesias de Sant Pedro e de Sant Pablo : e otrosi alos que començaron ¹ el camino para yr enesta rromeria, con voluntad dela conplir, e fueron enbargados por enfermedades e por otros enbargos algunos por que non podieron y llegar, — touieron ² por bien que ouiesen estos perdones conplidamente ³, assi commo aquellos que y llegaron e conplieron su rromeria.

* E çiertas bien fue omen aventurado el que esta rromeria fue ganar atodos grandes perdones commo eneste año, sabiendo lo, e pudiendo yr alla sin enbargo; ca enesta rromeria fueron todos asueltos a culpa e a pena, seyendo en verdadera penitencia, tan bien delos confesados commo de lo olvidado. E fue y despendido el poder del Padre Santo [sobre ⁴] todos aquellos clerigos que cayeron en yerro [e] yrregularidat non vsando de sus ofiços : e fue despendido contra ⁵ todos aquellos clerigos e legos, e sobre los adulterios, e sobre las oras non rrezadas a que eran thenudos de rrezar, e sobre aquestas muchas cosas saluo ende sobre debdas que cada vno delos pelegrinos deuia(n), tan bien lo que tomaron prestado o prendado o furtado, en qualquier manera ⁶ que lo touiesen contra voluntad de cuyo era, touieron ⁷ por bien que lo tornasen : e por que luego non se podia tornar lo que cada vno deuia, segund dicho ⁸ es, e [porque] lo podiesen pagar [e] ouiesen los perdones mas conplidos, dioles plazo a que lo pagasen, fasta la fiesta de rresurrección, que fue fecha enla era de mill e trezientos e treynta e nueue años.

E eneste año sobredicho, Ferrand Martinez ⁹ [fol. 1 vº]. Arçediano de Madrid enla yglesia de Toledo, fue a Roma aganar estos perdones : e despues que cunplio su rromeria e gano los perdones, asi commo Dios touo por bien, (por que ¹⁰) Don Gonçalo Obispo de Alvaña e Cardenal enla yglesia de Roma, que fue natural de Toledo, estando en Roma conel este Arçediano sobre dicho, a quien criara e feziera merçed, queriendose partir del e se yr a Toledo donde era natural, fizole prometer enlas sus manos que si el, seyendo Cardenal enla yglesia de Roma, si finase, que este Arçediano que fuese alla a demandar su cuerpo, e que feziese y todo su poder para traerle a la yglesia de Toledo, do auia escogido su sepultura.....

El Arçediano, conosçiendo la criança quel feziera, e el bien e la merçed que del rresçibiera, quiso le ser obediente e conplir la promesa que fizo enesta

1. Ms. *començaron*. — 2. Read *touo*. — 3. Ms. *con plidamente*. — 4. Ms. *ca*. — 5. Read *sobre*. — 6. Ms. *mañera*. — 7. Read *touo*. — 8. Ms. *segund dich*. — 9. Ms. *mās*. — 10. This passage can be made to read much better by substituting for *por que* the phrase (below), *queriendose partir del e se yr a Toledo donde era natural*.

rrazon, e trabajose quanto ¹ el pudo a demandar el su cuerpo. E commo quier que el padre santo ² ganase muchos amigos enla corte de Roma, tambien Cardenales commo otros onbres de la çibdat, non fallo el Arçediano a quien se atreuiere a(lo) demandar el su cuerpo saluo al Padre Santo. E non era marauilla; ca nunca fue ende enterrado enla çibdat de Roma para que fuese dende sacado para lo leuar a otra parte. E asi es estableçido ³ e otorgado por los ⁴ Padres Santos que ningund cuerpo que fuese y enterrado, que non fuese dende ⁵ sacado. E ya lo auia demandado muy afincada mente Don ⁶ Gonçalo Arçobispo, sobrino deste Cardenal sobre dicho, que fue ala corte a demandar el palio ⁷ : e non lo pudo acabar. Ante, le fue denegado que gelo non darian en ninguna manera ⁸. E quando el Arçediano ⁹ queria ¹⁰ yr a la corte ¹¹ para lo ¹² demandar, fue a Alcala al Arçobispo ¹³ para ¹⁴ despedir se del : e dixol ¹⁵ de commo queria yr a demandar el cuerpo del Cardenal, que gelo auia prometido enlas sus manos, ante que sse ¹⁶ partiese del en Roma. E el Arçobispo le ¹⁷ dixo que se non trabajasse ¹⁸ ende, nin tomasse y afan; ca non gelo darian, ca non gelo quisieran dar a el (E) quando lo demando al Papa, auiendo muchos Cardenales por si que gelo ayudauan a demandar. El ¹⁹ Arçediano con todo esso auenturose, e fuelo a demandar con cartas del Rey Don Ferrnando ²⁰ e de la ²¹ Reyna Doña Maria su madre, quel ²² enbiaua a ²³ pedir merçed ²⁴ al Papa ssobre ²⁵ esta rrazon. Mas Don Pedro, que era Obispo de Burgos a esa ssazon, e rreferendario ²⁶ del Papa, natural de Asturias de Ouiedo, auiendo verdadero amor ²⁷ del gran conosçymiento que conel Cardenal auia, con este Arçediano de Madrid se mouio : e queriendo le mostrar la buena voluntad que auia a todos los Españoles, alos quales el fazia muchas ayudas e muchas honrras del Papa quando acaesçian : e veyendo que el Arçediano auia mucho acoraçon ²⁸ este fecho, non quedando de dia nin de noche, e que andaua mucho afincada mente enesta demanda, doliendo se del su trabajo, e queriendo leuar adelante el amor verdadero quel ²⁹ sienpre mostrara : e otrosi por rruego de Doña Maria Reyna de Castiella ³⁰ e de Leon que era a

1. Ms. *quanto*. — 2. Here *padre santo* means the Cardinal. — 3. Ms. M begins (fol. 2 r,) with *do* of *estableçido*. Hereafter variants are of M, unless otherwise indicated. — 4. *delos*. — 5. *sea ende*. — 6. *doñ*. — 7. *P el papa*. — 8. *P manera*. — 9. *arçidiano*. — 10. *P que queria*. — 11. [a la corte]. — 12. *P le*. — 13. *P arco*. — 14. *a*. — 15. *P dixo le*. — 16. *se*. — 17. [le]. — 18. *-jase*. — 19. *P. E el. M arcidiano*. — 20. *ferrando*. — 21. *dela*. — 22. *P que le*. — 23. [a]. — 24. *P por merçed*. — 25. *sobre*. — 26. *rreferendario*. — 27. *amor por la su mesura con este arçidiano de Maaria, E queriendole mostrar la buena voluntad que auia entre todos los...* — 28. *P coracon*. — 29. *P que*. — 30. *P castilla*.

esa sazón, quel¹ enbio rrogar — (la qual fue muy buena dueña, e de muy buena vida, e de buen consejo, e² de muy gran rreposso, e de gran seso natural, e muy conplida entodas buenas costunbres, e amadora de justiçia con grandisyma piedat³, non orgulleciendo⁴ con buena andança [fol. 2 r.] nin desesperando con mala⁵ andança quando le acaesçie⁶, mas muy firme e estable en todos los sus fechos, que entendie que con Dios⁷ e con rrason e con derecho era, asy commo se cuenta en el libro dela estoria — e otro sy⁸ queriendo el Obispo onrrar atoda España [do] non auia otro Cardenal enterrado⁹. Ninguno delos otros non lo osaua(n) al Papa demandar, e el por la su mesura ofresçose¹⁰ alo demandar : e commo quier que luego non gelo quiso otorgar el Papa, ala çena mando gelo dar. E estonçe¹¹ el Arçidiano sacolo dela sepoltura¹² do yazie¹³ enterrado enla çibdad de Roma, en la iglesia¹⁴ de Santa Maria la mayor, çerca dela capiella del¹⁵ *presere domini* do yaze enterrado Sant Geronimo. E ay estaua fecha la sepoltura¹⁶ del Cardenal, muy noble mente obrada en memoria del. E esta alta enla pared. E el Arçidiano traxo el cuerpo mucho¹⁷ encubierta mente por el camino, temiendo que gelo enbargarian algunos que non estauan bien con la iglesia¹⁸ de Roma : e otros por auentura, por lo enterrar ensus logares ; asy commo le contesçion en Florençia vna vegada, que gelo quisieron tomar por lo enterrar ; e synon por que les dixo el Arçidiano que era vn cauallero su pariente que muriera enesta rromeria, quello leuaua asu tierra, [lo avrian tomado.] E despues que llego a Logroño¹⁹ descubriolo. E fue ende rresçibido mucho²⁰ onrrada mente de Don Ferrnando²¹ Obispo de Calahorra, quel salio a rresçibir rreuestido con sus vestiduras pontificales, e [de]²² toda la clerezia del Obispo [con]²³ vestiduras de caras de seda, e [de] todos los onbres²⁴ buenos dela villa con candelas enlas manos, e con rramos. E fasta que llego a Toledo fue rresçibido²⁵ mucho onrrada mente, e de toda la clerizia²⁶, e de las²⁷ ordenes, e de todos los²⁸ omes buenos dela villa. E ante que llegasen con el cuerpo ala çibdad de Burgos, el Rey Don Ferrnando²⁹, fijo del muy noble Rey Don Sancho e dela Reyna Doña Maria, conel Ynfante³⁰ Don Enrique su tyo³¹, e Don Diego Señor de Bizcaya³² e Don

1. P *que le*. — 2. [*e... rreposso*]. — 3. *e con piedat*. — 4. *-esçiendo*. — 5. P *mal*. — 6. *-ia*. — 7. MP *condios*. — 8. *otrosy*. — 9. In the loosely constructed sentence which precedes, the different participial clauses (*Aviendolo..., queriendo..., veyendo..., doliendo...*) are all dependant upon the verb *se mouio* (l. 13 above). — 10. P *esforçose*. — 11. *entonçe..* — 12. *sepul*. — 13. P *yazia*. — 14. *eglesia*. — 15. P *capilla*, M *de*. — 16. *sepul*. — 17. P *muy*. — 18. *eglesia*. — 19. MP *alogroño*. — 20. P *muy M y rresçebido*. — 21. *ferrando*. — 22. MP *con*. — 23. *de*. — 24. *oms*. — 25. *-sçebido*. — 26. *clerezia*. — 27. *de los P de*. — 28. *delos*. — 29. *ferrando*. — 30. *inf*. — 31. *tio*. — 32. *viç*.

Lope su fijo, e otros muchos rricos omes e ynfançones e caualleros le salieron a rresçibir ¹ fuera dela çibdad, e le fizieron ² mucha onrra. E por do yua ³ lo salian a rresçibir todos los delas villas commo a cuerpo santo con candelas ⁴ : e enlas proçesyones que fazien ⁵ la clerezia ⁶ e las ordenes quando llegauan alas villas, non cantauan versos nin ⁷ rresposos de difunto ⁸, synon ecçe saçerdos magnus ⁹ e otros rresposos e antifonas semejantes asy commo a fiesta de cuerpo santo. E la onrra que rresçibio este cuerpo del Cardenal quando llegaron conel ala noble çibdad de Toledo, fue muy grand marauilla, en manera que se non acordaua ninguno, por ançiano que fuese, que oyese dezir que nin a Rey nin a Enperador nin a otro ninguno fuese fecho atan grande onrra commo aeste cuerpo deste Cardenal ; ca ¹⁰ todos los clerigos del arçobispado fueron con capas de seda, e las ordenes dela çibdat — tan bien de rreligiosos [commo de legos.] Non finco Christiano nin Moro nin Judio ; que todos non lo salieron a rresçibir ¹¹ con sus çirios muy grandes e con rramos enlas manos. E fue y Don Gonçalo Arçobispo de Toledo su sobrino, e Don Juan, fijo del Infante Don Manuel conel. Ca el Arçobispo lo salio a rresçibir ¹² a Peñafiel, e non se partio del fasta en Toledo, donde le fizieron tanta onrra co-[fol. 2 v] mmo oystes ¹³ ; pero quel Arçidiano se paro atoda la costa de yda e de venida : e costol ¹⁴ muy grand algo — lo vno por que era muy luengo el camino, commo de Toledo a Roma, lo al por que auia de traer mayor conpañia asu costa por onrra del cuerpo del Cardenal, lo al por que por todo el camino eran las viandas ¹⁵ muy caras por rrazon dela muy grand gente syn cuento que yuan a Roma enesta rromeria de todas las partes del mundo. En manera ¹⁶ que la çena dela bestia costaua cada noche, en muchos logares, quatro torneses grue-sos. E fue grand ¹⁷ miraglo de Dios que entodos los caminos por do venien ¹⁸ los pelegirinos, tan abundados eran de todas las viandas, que nunca fallesçio alos pelegirinos cosa delo que auian mester ¹⁹. Ca nuestro Señor Dios, por la su merçed, quiso que non menguase ninguna cosa a aquellos que ensu seruiçio yuan. E çiertas ²⁰ sy costa grande fizo el Arçidiano eneste camino, mucho le es de gradesçer, por que lo enpleo muy bien, rreconosçiendo la merçed del Cardenal que rresçibiera ²¹, e la criaça que enel fiziera ²² — asy commo lo deuen fazertodos los omes de buen entendimiento e de buen conosçer, e que bien e merçed rresçibe[n] de otro.

1. sçebir. — 2. fezieron. — 3. yuan saliendo a rresçebir. — 4. candelas enlas manos e con rramos E enlas proçesyones. — 5. P fazian. — 6. P las clerezias. — 7. [versos nin]. — 8. sy non P difuntos. — 9. manos. — 10. E. — 11. sçebir. — 12. sçebir. — 13. ya oystes. — 14. P costo le. — 15. uiandas. — 16. [manera] çla. — 17. grant. — 18. P donde yuan. — 19. P menester. — 20. çierta mente. — 21. que del c. rresçibierā. — 22. fezierā.

Onde bien auenturado fue el ¹ señor que se trabajo de fazer buenos criados e leales ; ca estos atales nin les falleçeran ² en la vida, nin despues. Ca lealtad les faze acordar se del bien fecho que rresçibieron, en vida e en muerte.

E por que la memoria del omen ha luengo tienpo, e non se pueden acordar los omes delas cosas mucho antiguas sy las ³ non fallo por escripto, (e) por ende el tresladador dela estoria que adelante oyredes, que fue trasladada ⁴ de Caldeo en Latin, e de Latin en Romançe, (e) puso e ordeno estas dos cosas sobre dichas ⁵ porque [los] ⁶ que venieren ⁷ despues delos ⁸ deste tienpo sera ⁹ quando el año jubileo ¹⁰ ha ¹¹ de ser — por que ¹² puedan yr aganar los bien auenturados perdones que en aquel tienpo son otorgados atodos los que alla fueren : e que sepan que este fue el primer Cardenal que fue enterrado en España.

Pero esta obra es fecha so hemienda ¹³ de aquellos que la quisieren hemendar. E çiertas ¹⁴ deuen lo fazer aquellos ¹⁵ que [la] quisieren o sopieren ¹⁶ hemendar sy quiera ¹⁷. Por que dize la escriptura que [el que] sotil mente la cosa fecha emienda, mas de loar es que ¹⁸ el que primera mente la fallo. Otrosy ¹⁹ mucho deue de ²⁰ plazer a quien la cosa comiença a fazer, que la hemienden ²¹ todos quantos la quisieren hemendar ²² e ²³ sopieren ; ca quanto mas es la cosa hemendada ²⁴, tanto mas es loada. E non se deue ninguno esforçar ensu solo entendimiento, nin creer que de ²⁵ todo se pueda ²⁶ accordar ; ca auer todas cosas en memoria e non pecar nin errar en ninguna cosa, mas es este de Dios que non de omen. E por ende deuemos creer que todo omen ha ²⁷ cunplido ²⁸ saber de Dios solo, e non de otro ninguno ; ca por rrazon dela mengua dela memoria del omen fueron puestas estas cosas aesta obra, en la qual ay muy buenos enxienplos para se saber guardar omen de yerro sy bien quisiere ²⁹ beuir e vsar dellas. E ay otras rrazones mucho ³⁰ de solaz en que puede omen tomar plazer. Ca todo omen que trabajo quiere tomar para fazer alguna buena obra, deue enella entreponer alas vegadas algunas cosas de plazer e de solaz. E palabra es del sabio que dize asy : « Entre los cuydados alas vegadas tome ³¹ algunos plazer ; ca muy fuerte cosa es de sofrir el cuydado continuado, sy alas vezes non se ³² diese el ³³ omen aplazer ³⁴ o algund ³⁵ solaz. » E congrand ³⁶ enojo del trabajo e del cuydado, suele omen alas ³⁷ vegadas desanparar la buena obra que va ³⁸ (omen) començando. Onde todos los omes ³⁹ del mundo se deuen

1. P repeats *el*. — 2. *-esçeran*. — 3. P *non las*. — 4. *tras laudado*. — 5. *dichas en esta*. — 6. MP *las*. — 7. P. *venían*. — 8. P *delas*. — 9. *seran*. — 10. P *jubile*. — 11. [h]. — 12. *quel*. — 13. [h]. — 14. P *cierta mente*. — 15. *los*. — 16. P *o lo*, M *e sup-*. — 17. *quier*. — 18. P [que]. — 19. *E otrosy*. — 20. [de]. — 21. [h]. — 22. [h]. — 23. P [e] M *sup-*. — 24. [h]. — 25. [de]. — 26. *puede*. — 27. [h]. — 28. *con-*. — 29. *quisieren*. — 30. *muchas*. — 31. *pone*. — 32. [se]. — 33. [el]. — 34. [a] *plazer*. — 35. *algunt*. — 36. *grant*. — 37. [alas] *muchas*. — 38. *ha -cado*. — 39. MP *omēs*.

trabajar de fazer syenpre ¹ bien, e esforçar se aello e non se enojar : e asy lo pueden bien acabar con el ayuda de Dios. Ca asy commo [de] la cosa que (non) ha buen çimiento ², bien asy de rrazon e de derecho dela cosa que ha buen [comienço] ³, esperança deue omen auer que avra ⁴ buena çima mayor mente començando cosa onesta ⁵ e buena a seruicio de Dios, en cuyo ⁶ nonbre se deuen començar todas las cosas que buen fin deuen auer. Ca Dios es comienço e acabamiento de todas las cosas : e syn el ninguna cosa non puede ser fecha. E por ende todo omen que alguna cosa o obra buena quiere començar, deue anteponer enella ⁷ a Dios. E el es fazedor e mantenedor delas cosas : Asy puede bien acabar lo que començare, mayormente sy buen sesso natural touiere ; ca entre todos ⁸ los bienes que Dios quiso dar al omen, e entre todas las otras çiençias que aprende, la candela que atodas estas alunbra sesso natural es. Ca ninguna çiençia que omen aprende ⁹ non puede ser alunbrada nin enderesçad[a] syn ¹⁰ buen seso natural. E commo quier que la çiençia sepa omen de coraçon e la rreze, syn buen seso non la puede omen bien aprender. Avnque la entienda, menguando el buen seso natural, non puede obrar della nin vsar, asy commo conuiene ala çiencia de qual ¹¹ parte quier que sea. Onde aquien Dios quiso buen seso dar, puede ¹² començar e acabar buenas obras e onestas a seruicio de Dios e aproue-chamiento de aquellos que las oyeren, e buen pres de sy mesmo ¹³. E pero ¹⁴ que la obra sea muy luenga e de trabajo, non deue ¹⁵ desesperar delo non poder acabar, por ningunos enbargos quel ¹⁶ acaescan. Ca aquel Dios verdadero e mantenedor de todas las cosas, el qual omen de buen seso natural ante puso en la su obra, ale dar çima aquella quel ¹⁷ conuiene — asy commo contes-çio avn cauallero delas Yndias do andido pedricando ¹⁸ Sant Bartolome Apostol, despues de la muerte de Nuestro Saluador Ihesu Christo : el qual Cauallero ouo nonbre Çifar ¹⁹ del bautismo e despues ouo nonbre el Cauallero de Dios, porque se touo el syenpre ²⁰ con Dios e Dios conel en todos los [sus] fechos, asy commo adelante oyredes e podredes ver e entendredes por las sus obras.

E por ende es dicho este libro *del Cauallero de Dios* — el qual cauallero era ²¹ conplido de buen seso natural, e de esforçar de justiçia, e de buen consejo e de buena verdat, commo quier que la fortuna era contra el enle ²² traer apobredat ; pero que nunca desespero dela merçed de Dios, teniendo que el le podria mudar aquella fortuna fuerte en mejor : asy commo lo fizo segund agora oyredes ²³.

1. *siempre*. — 2. MP *çimiento*. — 3. P *comienço*. — 4. *abro*. — 5. *honesta*. — 6. [*cuyo*]. — 7. *enellos*. — 8. *seso*. — 9. *todas*. — 10. MP *aprenda*. — 11. *qual quier parte*. — 12. P *pueda*. — 13. *misimo*. — 14. P *para*. — 15. P *e non [deue]*. — 16. P *que le*. — 17. P *que*. — 18. *predi*. — 19. *çifar*. — 20. *siempre*. — 21. P [*era*]. — 22. *enlo*. — 23. In this extract I have discarded the inconsequent punctuation of the mss. I have capitalized proper names, and suppressed several

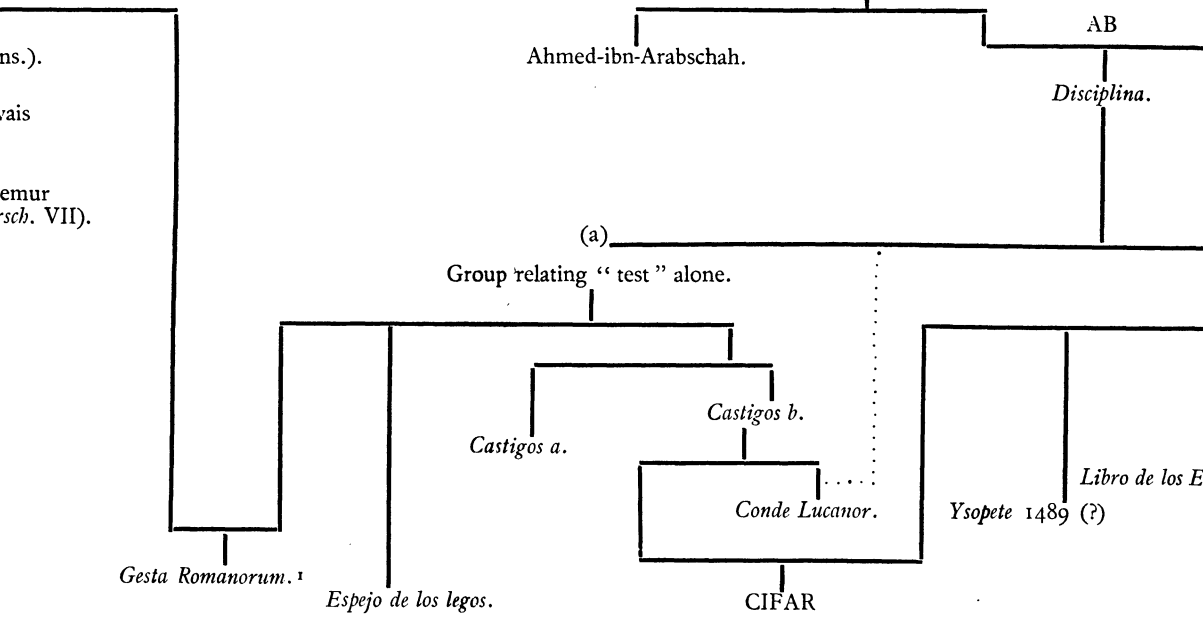
The following is the Prologue of the print of 1512 [fol. 1 v.].

PROLOGO

Saludable cosa es a los mortales gastar el tiempo ¹ no solamente en obras que para si sean vtils y onestas : mas avn en aquellas cosas que alos proximos sean prouechosas. E assi se cumplira ² aquel dicho que dize : *dum tempus habemus, operemur bene* : porque ciertamente perder el tiempo, perdida es irrecuperable. Pues para euitar semejante perdida, en virtuosos exercicios nos deuemos ocupar, delos quales se consigue vn habito virtuoso, mediante el qual nuestra vida a bien auenturado fin se dirige : en especial, que despues de ser causa de nuestra saluacion, se alcança vna perpetua memoria — que es, despues de muertos biuir por fama : la qual de los antiguos Romanos era antepuesta ala vida, e casi por sumo bien tenida. E otro interesse no traxo a muchos a desastrados e inauditos fines saluo esta — porque por ellos perpetua fama alcançauan. Y puesto que los presentes, no por semejante interesse solamente, en los tales exercicios se instruyan — porque pocas vezes acaece sin arrogancia — deue se hazer por respeto de aquel bien por el qual de Dios es concedido el discurso desta vida, que es la bien auenturança de la gloria eterna. E assi ocupados, vnos a otros aprouechemos, cada vno segun lo que de Dios recibio ; porque *vnusquisque accepit gratiam secundum suam mensuram*. E ninguno se escuse con dezir : no tengo suficiencia para aprouechar a otros ; porque sera confuso si considera como enel Testamento Viejo mando Dios que pusiesen en su tabernaculo taças e vasos — lo qual sinifica, segun Sant Gregorio nos muestra enla exposicion de vna omelia, que por lastaças se entiendan ³ los abundantes de doctrina : y por los vasos, los de menos doctrina. Empero mandados somos que el que no pudiere dar a beuer con taça al proximo, de con vaso. Conuiene a saber, el que con afluente doctrina no puede aprouechar al proximo, aproueche le con lo que entiende ; porque ninguno queda tan desnudo deste don que no alcance vn enxemplo ⁴ de buena palabra. Pues assi, no siendo ignorante desto, el auctor desta obra, cuyo nombre *sub silentio jacet*, e considerando ser onesto exercicio e prouechoso alos que se exercitan enel arte militar, quiso ocupar se en semejante obra, dela qual no menor prouecho alcan-

large initial letters, when to leave them would make unsightly text. The ms. has invariably *R* or *rr* for initial *r*. Excepting in the case of proper names I have transcribed this *rr*. *Commo* represents *como* of the ms : and *omen*, *ome*. The form *omen* is found written out in full. E and τ I have transcribed *e*, except at the beginning of a sentence.

1. tiẽpo. — 2. cüplira. — 3. read-*da*. — 4. *enxẽplo*.



of the *Gesta* combines the *Barlaam* story with that of the *Disciplina*.

çaran los lectores que de otras. Puesto que el stilo della sea antigo, empero no en menos deue ser tenuta ; que avnque tengan el gusto dulce conel estilo delos modernos, no de vna cosa sola gozan los que leen los libros e historias ; porque vnos gozan de la materia dela obra, otros delos enxemplos que enlas tales obras se enxeren, e donayres, otros del subido ¹ estilo de que es conpuesta : del qual todos no gozan. Por donde las tales obras son traydas en vilipendio delos grosseros. Assi que si de estilo moderno esta obra carece, aprouechar se han della delas cosas hazañosas e agudas que enella hallaran, y de buenos enxemplos : e supla la buena criança delos discretos — a cuya correction el auctor se somete — las faltas della e rancioso estilo, considerando que la intencion suple la falta de la obra.

Following, on the same page is this paraphrase of the last ten lines of the prologue of the mss.

Historia del Cauallero de Dios, que auia por nombre Cifar. El qual por sus virtuosas obras e hazañosas cosas fue Rey de Menton.

Enla India, do el bienauenturado apostol Sant Bartolome predico, ouo vn cauallero — dize do Sant Bartolome predico a diferencia de otras dos Indias ; porque, segun dizen los historiographos, son tres Indias : la primera tiene los fines hazia Ethiopia : la segunda hazia los Medos : la tercera enlos Partos termina su fin. Desta vltima se entiende aqui — el qual cauallero hauia por nombre Cifar : e por las hazañosas cosas e dignas de admiracion que hizo, enlas quales creyan las gentes que Dios le ayudaua, llamaron le el Cauallero de Dios. El qual no menos fue temoroso de Dios e obediente de sus mandamientos, que esforçado enlas cosas dela caualleria e amador de verdad y de justicia. E por ser tal, alcanço a ser Rey ; aunque antes que en tal estado viniesse passo muchas necessidades e trabajos, assi en guerras como fuera dellas — como aqui oyreys.

APPENDIX B

BS. — Jahuda Bonsenyor, *Libre de paraules e dits de savis e filosofos...* ed. G. Llabrés y Quintana, Palma 1889.

Burke. — Ulrick Ralph Burke, *Sancho Panza's Proverbs...* with a literal Eng. trans., etc., London 1892.

Canc. da Vat. — C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, in the *Revista Lusitana*, I, pp. 69 ff., *Materiaes para uma edição critica do refraneiro portugues.*

1. Read *sabido*.

- C. — Caro y Cejudo, Refranes, Madrid 1675.
- Frib. — Proverbes patois du canton de Fribourg... recueillis par J. Cheron, in *Romania*, VI, p. 76 ff.
- H. — W. Carew Hazlitt, English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases, London, 1869.
- It. — Orlando Pescetti, Proverbi Italiani... in Venetia, 1611.
- JR. — Juan Ruiz. El libro de buen amor... ed. Ducamin, Toulouse, 1900.
- Jud. — Proverbes Judéo-Espagnols, in *Revue Hispanique*, 1895, p. 312 ff. (Foulché-Delbosc).
- Le R. — Le Roux de Lincy, Le livre des Proverbes français, Paris, 1859.
- Lim. — Proverbes bas-limousins, in *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.*, 1882, p. 236 ff.
- N. — Refranes o Proverbios en Romance, que colegio y glosso el Comendador Hernan Nuñez... Lerida, 1621.
- OPr. — Peretz, Altprovenzalische Sprichwörter, etc., in *Romanische Forschungen*, III (1887), p. 414 ff.
- Cn. — Cnyrim, Sprichwörter, sprichwörtliche Redensarten und Sentenzen bei den Prov. Lyr., Marburg, 1888.
- Otto. — Dr A. Otto, Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer. Leipzig, 1890.
- Prov. Ven. — Raccolta di Proverbi Veneti fatta da Cristoforo Pasqualigo, 3 vol. Venezia, 1857.
- Quixote. — From Sbarbi, Intraducibilidad del Quixote, p. 176 ff. (vol. VI of the *Refranero General*).
- Roma. — Opera nova in la qual contiene le Dieci Tavole di Proverbi Sententiosi, Detti e modi di parlare che oggidi nella commun lingua d'Italia si vsano. Roma, 1536.
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